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Venble A. Theodore Wirgman, D.D., D.C.L.
Archdeacon of Port Elizabeth

# STORM AND SUNSHINE IN SOUTH AFRICA

## WITH SOME PERSONAL AND HISTORICAL REMINISCENCES

BY

A. THEODORE WIRGMAN, D.D., D.C.L.

LATE SCHOLAR OF MAGDALENE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE
ARCHDEACON OF PORT ELIZABETH AND HON. CHAPLAIN TO H.M. THE KING

WITH FOREWORD BY THE
BISHOP OF GRAHAMSTOWN
AND A
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

*WITH ILLUSTRATIONS*

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# FOREWORD.

As Bishop of the diocese in which Augustus Theodore Wirgman served God for forty-four years, I feel it an honour to be allowed to commend these Reminiscences and Memoir to all interested in the life of the Church overseas, and more especially in South Africa. A diocese which counted the Archdeacon on the roll of its clergy gains thereby in distinction. His name was known throughout the Ecclesia Anglicana. To some he was known simply as a keen controversialist both in civil and ecclesiastical politics. To us who knew him intimately he was far more. Full of loyalty to the Church he loved, he welcomed honours and dignities for himself because, as was finely said at the time of his death, they brought honour to her. He was directly instrumental in enabling many men to take Holy Orders in her ranks. And withal we saw in him a large heart that moved him to welcome new-comers to the land of his adoption, and to advise and succour them in need of help.

✠ Francis R. Grahamstown.

Bishopsbourne,
Grahamstown.

# EDITOR'S PREFACE.

Among the papers left by the late Archdeacon Wirgman was the manuscript of this book. He seems to have felt, and rightly, that the records and reminiscences of a life that was singularly full of interest ought to be given to the public. To the preparation of this work for publication he gave the greatest diligence. Besides the fair copy there were several rough drafts among his papers, the earliest dating from as long ago as 1898.

Unfortunately the Archdeacon was not spared to complete his labours, and the narrative ends abruptly with the death of Cecil Rhodes. The final recasting of it was made, however, during the years 1914 to 1916; so that the events recorded are seen in the light of the Great War and are orientated in accordance with the new outlook on world problems, social, political, and spiritual, forced on man by the greatest of all "troublings of the waters".

The book must, of course, be judged on its own merits, and doubtless there are statements which will be challenged, for it deals with controversial topics. This is to be expected, for it is the work of one who was singularly clear in his opinions and definite in the statement of them. Essentially loyal both to his Church and to his country, the Archdeacon was ever bold in the defence of them; but his defence was never prejudiced.

His views were indeed strongly held, and as powerfully stated as they were strongly held; but he invariably took great care to know his ground before he formed them—a virtue which is not always manifest in the statements of controversialists.

The forty years during which, as Rector of one of the most important churches in the country, he was in closest touch with the affairs of South Africa, were great years. They were the time when the country passed from bud to blossom, the years in which the early inchoate beginnings of Church and State found shape and form in the free Church of the Province, on the one hand, and the Union of South Africa on the other. Towards the attainment of those two great ends Archdeacon Wirgman devoted all the strength of his dauntless personality, the power of his virile pen, the fire of his fearless oratory.

That men should think great thoughts and strive to carry them out greatly was the thing that mattered to him, and thus while his work dwells lovingly on his great hero, Cecil Rhodes, one may detect also a vein of admiration for the rugged personality of President Kruger.

There is one point on which a word, not of apology but of explanation, is needed. It may be thought that the ecclesiastical controversies are dealt with at a length which their importance does not justify. It must not be forgotten, however, that it was along the difficult and thorny paths of these controversies that the South African Church found its way to that freedom and self-government which has made it the pattern of other Colonial Churches. Kipling's words, "Lest we forget," are wide in their application and we should do ill indeed

if we forgot those faithful and wide-minded men who hewed out those paths on which we walk.

Now that the War has shattered so many ideas that we formerly held as fixed principles, it is well to retain some solid basis to rest on out of the achievements of the past, on which we may establish the future. Count Cavour's "Free Church in a Free State" was always Archdeacon Wirgman's ideal, and more blest than most, he saw his ideal in the realisation, and accepted it as the unchangeable foundation of South African policy.

His own part in the great two-fold work was a large one. He was ever in the heart of things, knew intimately the great builders and founders of Church and State, and contributed a worthy share to the sum of effort. The book, then, is a record of—

Quæque ipse vidi
Et quorum pars magna fui.

—Virg. Æn. II. 5, 6.

G. B. F.

# PREFATORY NOTE.

My life work has been in South Africa, a country which has been called by some the grave of reputations. I came to South Africa with no reputation to make or mar, as a young priest of twenty-seven, who had been taught by the Bishop who ordained him that the Anglican Communion was a wider sphere than the Church of England, and that an English priest might fitly consider service in a wider sphere as much a duty as service in England. I have always been thankful that I came to serve "a free Church in a free State". In no part of the British Empire has this famous ideal of Count Cavour's been more fully realised than in South Africa. Through storm and stress, lights and shadows, the South African Church attained her freedom and her unity. Through the mist and darkness, the blood and tears of a bitter struggle and a great war, the South African States have won their way to Union. I have for the greater part of my life watched and noted the progress of the Church and the people towards the unity now attained, and if my personal recollections do not illustrate the course of events and make them plainer to those who may care to read these pages, the fault will lie rather with my intelligence than with my lack of opportunities. I do not apologise for the personal note

in what I have written. It is inevitable in recollections of an autobiographical character. I have tried to be fair in my judgment of public men and public events, and I trust that I have not consciously yielded to the influences which must inevitably accompany the possession of strong personal convictions.

A. T. W.

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*From a Photograph by Middlebrook Studios, Port Elizabeth.*

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# CHAPTER I.

## EARLY DAYS AND RECOLLECTIONS.

### England and Europe from 1846 to 1851.

I was born on September 22nd, 1846. Those "early Victorian" days are far more remote from the second decade of the twentieth century than Sir Walter Scott's "'Tis sixty years since" of Waverley was from Prince Charles Edward's heroic adventure in the "'45". Louis Philippe, the "bourgeois" King, was the ruler of France, and the infamy of the "Spanish marriage" had not yet shaken the throne. His victim, Queen Isabella of Spain, and his dupe Montpensier had acquiesced in their fate, and the vision of a closely knit family tie between the Orleans King at Paris and his son, the future Orleans King of Spain, had not vanished. England was distracted by Chartism and was seething with economic and social discontent. The young Queen had not yet had time to restore the true ideals of British monarchy, and her German husband was profoundly distrusted, in spite of his undoubted political capacity. Italy was seething with the desire to become a united kingdom under the leadership of the House of Savoy. Hungary was on the edge of the revolution against Austria so soon to break out under the leadership of Kossuth. Ferdinand of Austria was coming to the end of his tether as an irresponsible and foolish autocrat. Prussia was beginning to aspire to the leadership of the smaller German states, although Austria and Europe did not take her ambitions very seriously. Bismarck was an obscure

country squire, and Moltke a major in the Danish Army. Prince William of Prussia, the future conqueror of Paris, to be proclaimed "Kaiser" in the historic Palace at Versailles, was in obscurity as an unpopular soldier and fervid foe of democracy. The splendid figure of Czar Nicholas of Russia dominated Eastern Europe. Russian discontent was buried beneath the aspirations of Slav conquest, and already Nicholas, in vision, saw himself crowned in S. Sophia as the Emperor of Constantinople. Louis Napoleon was in exile in London. No one took him seriously after his futile attempts at Strasburg and Boulogne. The escaped prisoner of Ham was not considered worth watching as a serious danger to the throne of Louis Philippe.

In 1848 the storm burst. The whole of Europe was ablaze with revolution. The Chartists had proposed to march on the Parliament at Westminster. The old Duke of Wellington planted cannon to sweep Westminster Bridge, and Louis Napoleon kept order in the streets with the truncheon of a special constable. Louis Philippe fled to England disguised as "Mr. Smith," and after a while Louis Napoleon became President of the brand new French Republic. Ferdinand of Austria abdicated and was succeeded by a boy of eighteen, the Kaiser Franz Josef, whose last days were merged in the whirlpool of the world-war, and the people of Italy revolted against their separate Governments. Pope Pius IX fled from Rome to Gaeta, and the Roman Republic was proclaimed. Then came a settlement and a reaction. Pius IX was restored by French bayonets and became the reactionary opponent of Italian liberty and unity. The defeat of Charles Albert of Sardinia by the Austrians at Novara threw Italy back into the hands of its separatist autocracies. Louis Napoleon's coup d'état made him Emperor of the French, and Prince Albert imagined that the Great Exhibition of 1851 was the inauguration of an era of universal European peace and prosperity.

I record these political happenings because they showed a new Europe in the making, and incidentally influenced most profoundly the relations of England and her Colonies. The outcome of the new Europe was the British Empire as we see it to-day, and the new South Africa as it emerged from the war of 1899. What will be the character of the "newer Europe" and the United British Empire after the world-war of 1914 none can imagine or forecast.

## Earliest Recollections.

One of the earliest recollections of my childhood was hearing of the wonders of the Great Exhibition of 1851 and being shown pictures of it in the "Illustrated London News". My father always impressed on my mind as a child any great events that were transpiring, and so my recollections of childhood are unusually clear and definite. The death of the Duke of Wellington took place in 1852, when I was six years old. My father explained to me why the church bell was tolling and what a mighty warrior the old Duke had been, and I was very proud to receive from the postman the first newspaper ever addressed to me, which had pictures of the funeral and a long account of it, which was read to me. I have lived to commemorate the centenary of Waterloo. On one point my memory fails me. I never remember a time when I could not read easy words, and pick out a tune from ear on the piano. Nor do I remember when I learnt to draw. I can remember copying pictures of soldiers and natives from the illustrated papers dealing with the Kafir War of 1852. I found a letter addressed to me by an old friend of my mother's on my seventh birthday, in which she asked me if I was still fond of Heraldry! I was given a book on Heraldry as soon as I could read, and it had very fine coloured plates. I used to pore over it with delight.

### My Uncle and the Crimean War.

In 1854 came the Crimean War. My uncle, Theodore Wirgman, was at that time an officer of the 10th Hussars, which came overland from India through Egypt to strengthen the Light Cavalry Brigade after the disastrous Balaklava charge. His weekly letters to my father were read to me and every scrap of war news was duly impressed on my mind. I well remember the battle of the Alma and the Charge of the Light Brigade. Inkerman, the soldiers' battle, was a vivid picture in my mind. I thought of little else but the war, and one day amused my father by exclaiming: "I would give anything to be in the Crimea". After the peace in 1856 I first met my soldier uncle. I was staying at Henley Vicarage with my uncle, Henry Pearson, and the returned warrior came to see us there. I was very much impressed with his bronzed countenance and was struck by the mark across his forehead made by the Hussar undress service cap, which left a diagonal patch free from tan. He was very kind to me as a little lad, as he always was as long as he lived. His stories of the Crimea fascinated me, and made me long to be a soldier.

### The Indian Mutiny.

In 1857 the terrible scenes of the Indian Mutiny were deeply impressed upon my mind. I used to picture to myself the horrors of Cawnpore, the pathetic heroism of Lucknow, and the glories of the siege and capture of Delhi. I suppose that I was, in some ways, rather unlike most boys of my age. I was very keen on public events and on battle stories. I read every book on war and battles that I could lay hold of. I remember reading Sir Walter Scott's "Court and Camp of Bonaparte" before I read any of his novels. I believe that I was much more influenced in my ideas, tastes and judgments by my father's family than by my mother's:

so it seems to me that I must break in upon my early recollections at this point with some account of my family connections.

### The Wirgman Family.

The Wirgman family settled in London in the eighteenth century and came from Gothenburg in Sweden. Our chief authority for our family history is a journal kept by Peter Wirgman, the first of the family born in England, written apparently between the years 1732 and 1749. He tells us of his grandfather, Peter Virgunder, who was born in 1624 at Biorkeroes in the district of Smaland in Sweden and educated at the University of Upsala for the ministry. He obtained a parish when he was twenty-four years of age and married a lady whose family name was Croc. He had twelve children. Some of his sons entered the army and kept the original family name, but the youngest but one changed its form on entering into commercial life, as the rule of the family was, and was known as Abraham Wirgman. He became an Alderman of Gothenburg early in the eighteenth century and married into the family of Wallman, of Gothenburg. His son Gabriel settled in Denmark Street, London, and married Mary, the eldest daughter of Francis Upjohn. Gabriel died at Bath in 1791, and his wife died at Brighton in 1794.

### Thomas Wirgman.

His son Thomas, born in 1771, was my grandfather, who died in 1840 and was buried in the Upjohn vault at S. John's, Clerkenwell. He married in 1799 Sophia Russell, the only child and heiress of John Russell, of Buckingham Street, London, and Anne Surmont, of French Huguenot descent. He had three sons: Ferdinand, born in 1806, and the twins, Augustus (my father) and Theodore, born in 1809. There was

a curious interlacing of families, for my great-grandmother, Anne, married, as a widow, the same Peter Wirgman who wrote the Journal or Family Record mentioned before. He died in 1814, and her portrait shows her to have been a woman of strong character. Peter, the youngest son of the seventeenth-century Lutheran minister, settled in business in Windsor Court, Strand, in 1706, and married twice, first a Dane and afterwards a Swede. His eldest son, Peter, the journalist, was a travelled man. He journeyed through Holland and Germany twice and spent two years at Dresden to learn German. He settled in business in London at 68 St. James's Street, and in 1750 married Elizabeth Breholt. I have in my possession a copy of the "Whole Duty of Man," with Elizabeth Breholt's name in it, and the date 1741. She put her husband's book-plate in it after her marriage, and the Wirgman armorial bearings on this book-plate show that our family were "armigeri" in Sweden.

### Our Armorial Bearings.

My grandfather had them duly registered at the Heralds' College, and my father and uncle had them re-granted from the Heralds' College with my grandmother Russell's arms quartered.

There are two windows in the hall of Magdalene College, Cambridge, which are filled with the armorial bearings of members of the College who have been considered worthy of some remembrance during the past and present century. My armorial bearings, with my name underneath, were placed in one of these windows in the year 1911.

My grandfather, Thomas Wirgman, was the second son of Gabriel Wirgman, who married Mary Upjohn. I can remember my father's second cousin, the Rev. Francis Upjohn, as a rather eccentric old gentleman who had retired from active work. He had been a Captain

THE ARCHDEACON'S BOOK-PLATE

A. T. WIRGMAN, D.D., D.C.L.
Archdeacon of Port Elizabeth

PETER WIRGMAN'S BOOK-PLATE

in the Life Guards and fell under the influence of the Evangelical Revival in the days of the Regency. He resigned his Commission, went to Cambridge and took Holy Orders. At one time he lived at Ashbourne Green Hall, Derbyshire. He was my brother Edward's godfather. My grandfather's younger brothers, Charles and James, settled in America at the close of the eighteenth century and founded the American branches of our family in Virginia, Philadelphia and New York. His sister Sophia married Mr. H. K. Hemming.

### G. W. Hemming.

Their son, George Wirgman Hemming, went to S. John's College, Cambridge, and was Senior Wrangler and first Smith's Prizeman in 1844. I believe that he furnishes the solitary instance of a Cambridge Senior Wrangler being an athlete in the days before athletics loomed as largely as they do now at the public schools and universities. He won the University sculls and combined the blue ribbon of the Cam with the blue ribbon of the Senate House. He went to the bar and became a Q.C., and one of the Counsel of the University of Cambridge. He was also Librarian of Lincoln's Inn and Official Referee of the Supreme Court of Judicature in England.

### My Grandfather Translates Kant.

My grandfather was a man of considerable intellectual power. To him, more than to any other man, is due the attention which began to be paid to Kant's Philosophy in England and Scotland during the early years of the nineteenth century. He had a controversy with Professor Dugald Stewart, of Edinburgh University, on the subject, and spent large sums of money in publishing works to further his object in making Kant's system known to English-speaking people. He was an accomplished German

scholar, and his translation of Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason" was the first which appeared in the English language. He was one of the chief proprietors of the "Encyclopædia Londinensis," which was published at intervals between 1815 and 1825 as a rival to the "Encyclopaedia Britannica," mainly because Professor Stewart had written the articles in it which attacked Kant. He wrote the articles in it on Kant, Logic, Metaphysics, and Philosophy. His philosophic studies brought him into contact with the famous Madame de Stael, and he treasured the following little note, in which she asked to see him:

"2 *Janvier*, 1814.

"Je désire de vous connaître, Monsieur, puisque vous vous occupez de Kant, et que vous cherchez à le faire admirer. Voulez vous passer chez moi, jeudi matin, entre deux et trois heures? Nous causerons quelques instants.

"J'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur,
"Votre très humble et très obéissant servante,
"Necker de Stael Holstein.

"To Thomas Wirgman, Esqre.,
"68 St. James's Street."

It seemed a trivial note for my grandfather to keep, but the lady left her mark upon history in more ways than one, besides her writings on Kant. My grandfather's literary schemes cost him the bulk of his fortune. And besides this source of expenditure he evidently must have given substantial aid and services to the exile of Hartwell, who became Louis XVIII at the Bourbon restoration of 1814.

## Louis XVIII Decorates My Grandfather.

Before Louis XVIII left England he instituted a new Order of Merit called the "Order of the Fleur de Lys," for the special purpose of decorating the emigrés and others who had aided him in exile and helped to restore him to his

throne. He made my grandfather a Chevalier of the Order of the Fleur de Lys, which was attached as a pendant to the Wirgman Arms (see "Burke's Dictionary of Heraldry"); but it was only so used during my grandfather's lifetime.

In his controversy with Dugald Stewart about Kant my grandfather repelled the charge of the Scotch philosopher that Kant was unintelligible by saying (Art. Philosophy, "Encyclopaedia Londinensis," p. 122), that, if it were so, "I am unable to account for the facility with which my sons at their early age comprehend the first principles of this sublime philosophy". This is the language of an enthusiast, but my father Augustus and his brothers, Ferdinand and Theodore, evinced such a distinct dislike to philosophical studies in later life that my grandfather's enthusiastic effort to turn his little boys into metaphysicians must have been a failure.

## My Father and Blücher.

One of my father's earliest recollections was that he was brought into the room with his twin brother, Theodore, when Prince Blücher visited my grandfather in London after Waterloo. The bluff soldier's admiration for London was briefly summed up in contemporary memories by his exclamation, "What a fine city to sack!" But my father remembers only the kindly pat on the head with which the great Prussian Field Marshal greeted him. Another recollection of his childhood was a like interview with the magnificent Duke of Devonshire, who astonished Europe by his entertainments and semi-royal state when he was Ambassador to St. Petersburg (I think) at the Coronation of the Czar Nicholas I. In 1854 this same Duke of Devonshire gave my father the Vicarage of Hartington, in Derbyshire, the place from which the title, "Marquis of Hartington," borne by the eldest son of the Dukes of Devonshire, is derived. When

my father called at Chatsworth to thank the Duke for his preferment, he said: "Oh, I remember seeing you and your little twin brother at your father's house in London". Years afterwards, when my father died in 1874, the people of Hartington asked the then Duke to present me to the living as my father's successor. The Duke declined, and some years afterwards I wrote to thank him for declining. I had a characteristic reply from him saying that he knew he had done me a good turn in not leaving me to rust in a small country parish. He was second Wrangler at Cambridge and the father of the famous Lord Hartington, the last of the great Whig aristocratic politicians.

### My Uncle's Army Career.

My father and my uncle Theodore went to Cambridge in 1829. My father entered at S. Peter's College and my uncle at Trinity. The twin brothers were so exactly alike that they used sometimes to exchange gowns and go to Hall in each other's colleges, and the college porters of Peterhouse and Trinity could not tell them apart. My uncle was at Reading School under the famous Dr. Valpy.

My uncle was a good correspondent. I have already mentioned his letters from the Crimea. I found among my father's papers a very well written description of his being presented at Court to King William IV, before he went to Austria. My uncle Ferdinand died in 1858.

### Charles Wirgman.

His eldest son Charles was an artist on the staff of the "Illustrated London News" in the Chinese War of 1860, and settled in Japan, where he died. His second son Ernest was in business in the City, and his only son, Dr. C. W. Wirgman (M.D. Lond., F.R.C.S.), is now practising in the City and in Queen Anne's Street.

### T. B. Wirgman.

His youngest son is Theodore Blake Wirgman, the well-known artist, one of the foremost portrait painters of his time. As a young man my father fell under the influence of Bishop Wilson of Calcutta, then Vicar of Islington, who prepared him for Confirmation about the time that he went to Cambridge.

### My Father and Uncle at Cambridge.

My grandfather's philosophical studies did not appeal to my father, and he took his own line, which was a very usual one with young men seriously inclined in those days. He became a follower of the Simeonite school at Cambridge and looked forward to Holy Orders. He won a scholarship at S. Peter's in 1831 and was Mathematical Prizeman of his college. He passed through much sorrow and trouble after the death of his mother in 1832, and his degree was a disappointment to him, for he graduated in the Mathematical Tripos in 1833 as a Junior Optime. He was ordained deacon in 1834 and priest in 1835 by Bishop Butler of Lichfield. His first curacy was Kniveton in Derbyshire. He afterwards became Curate in Charge of Bradbourne, where he married on August 12th, 1845, Jane Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas and Anne Pearson, of South Wingfield, Derbyshire. My maternal grandfather had been dead for some years, and my grandmother was living at Bradbourne Hall with her second son, Henry Pearson, Vicar of Carsington, and afterwards of Henley near Ipswich. He was a Cambridge Wrangler and died in 1894. Her eldest son, John Pearson, died previously and was succeeded in the Wingfield estate by his son, Lieut.-Colonel Pearson, of the Derbyshire Militia, who was M.A. of Magdalene College, Cambridge.

Bradbourne Vicarage was the home of my childhood. I

revisited it in 1911, when I was in England for the Coronation, and renewed my earliest memories. We were all born there—myself, a brother who died in infancy, my brother Edward (born May 27th, 1851, died Sept. 11th, 1907), and my sister, Emma Georgiana (born Dec. 10th, 1853). In April, 1855, my father became Vicar of Hartington, where he died on December 22nd, 1874, just thirty-four years after my grandfather's death, on the same day of the same month. Hartington Church is a magnificent building for the size of the village. It was formerly a Collegiate church and after the Reformation it continued a "Peculiar" under a Dean. The last Dean of Hartington was Mr. Bateman, and my father, as his surrogate, issued marriage licences in his name. My father built Hartington Vicarage and restored the church. His strong evangelical views did not lead him into Puritan objections to architectural form and beauty.

### My Father and Redfern, the Sculptor.

My father, during his early days at Hartington, discovered a village lad who carved little statuettes in bath brick. The lad showed signs of genius, and my father introduced him to the late Mr. Beresford Hope, who at once took steps to have him educated. He studied in Paris and became the famous James Redfern, the sculptor, whose early death in 1876 was a loss to English art. He was delicate in health and very sensitive, and he died, in a great measure, from the shameful treatment he received from the Puritan Dean Elliott, of Bristol. He was duly commissioned for the beautiful statues which adorn Bristol Cathedral. But his treatment of the Four Latin Doctors of the Church offended the Dean's Protestant susceptibilities. The offending statues were removed, and Redfern never recovered from this insult to his art.[1]

[1] See "Dict. Nat. Biography," *s.v.* Redfern, and the "Memoirs of Sir Robert Scott and G. E. Street, R.A.," who were Redfern's friends and employers.

## I Enter Rossall School.

My father was a man of cultured and artistic tastes, and he educated me at home till I was thirteen, when I was suddenly launched into public school life by my entrance at Rossall in 1859. I was utterly unfit for the abrupt transition, and in consequence I underwent much unnecessary misery in my early school days. But time mended many matters, and when I left Rossall for Cambridge in 1866 I had, and still have, a very loyal feeling for my old school. I was carefully prepared for Confirmation by the Rev. S. J. Phillips, the Vice-Master, and I was confirmed by Bishop Prince Lee, of Manchester, on October 16th, 1862, at Poulton-le-Fylde Church, with a number of my school fellows. I remember only one thing in his Confirmation Address.

## Bishop Prince Lee.

We Rossallians sat together a little apart from the other candidates, and the Bishop turned to us and hurled a verse of the Greek Testament at our heads, with the remark that "If you boys can't construe that you ought to be able to". I can't remember the verse, but I never forgot the incident. The Bishop was unfatherly, and did not impress us very much. But it must not be forgotten that he was a great schoolmaster and had the making of Archbishop Benson and Bishop Westcott when he was Head of King Edward's School, Birmingham. Bishop Macrorie was in his diocese when he was chosen Bishop of Maritzburg to succeed the deposed Dr. Colenso. He interviewed Bishop Prince Lee, who was a thorough Erastian. "So," said the Bishop, "you are to succeed Colenso. That means you are going to play at being a Bishop, and Bishop Gray will play at consecrating you." Bishop Prince Lee could not conceive of the consecration of a Bishop being the independent act of a Colonial Church disconnected with the State. He thought that a Bishop

could not be consecrated without a Royal Mandate or *congé d'élire.*

### Sir John Gorst and Sir W. Besant.

In my day, Sir John Gorst, afterwards of the Fourth Party, and subsequently a Minister, was mathematical master. Sir Walter Besant, the famous novelist, was a Junior Form master, and the Rev. W. H. Whitworth, afterwards Vicar of All Saints, Margaret Street, was senior mathematical master. He reminded me of old Rossall days when I preached at All Saints, Margaret Street, in 1893. Sir Ralph Williams, whose book of reminiscences, "How I became a Governor," gives an adventurous life story of an explorer and Colonial Office official in many lands, was at Rossall in my time, and so was Lord Stamfordham, better known as Sir Arthur Bigge, the Private Secretary of Queen Victoria and subsequently of King George V.

Sir Walter Besant left no definite impression on my mind in those days, but Sir John Gorst was a lively and energetic young man with a golden brown beard and a monocle à la Chamberlain. He was somewhat impatient as a teacher but keen on games. He was the virtual founder of Rossall football.

Charles Harford Lloyd, the famous composer and musician, was at Rossall in my time. I remember him as a shy, retiring boy and even then a brilliant pianist. We used to get him to play for us at odd times, and to draw, as he did, a sympathetic audience of ordinary British school boys, who in those days were young Philistines, is no small tribute to his genius.

We had a splendid cricket ground at Rossall, and our professionals towards the end of my time were the famous H. H. Stephenson, the finest wicket-keeper of his day, and T. Sewell, the famous lob bowler. I well remember my joy when I made 42 in a school match with the professional bowling at one

end. I was just out of the eleven, but I played in the football fifteen. I shall never forget playing against the officers' team from the School of Musketry at Fleetwood. We played the strict Eton game in those days, which was the parent of the modern "Soccer". The officers played all sorts of games which they fondly thought could be brought under our rules, and it was a regular rough-and-tumble.

Our School Rifle Corps was formed in 1860, and we were the second public school to have one, Eton being the first. We went to Preston, Ulverston and other places for battalion drills, and Lord Hartington was Colonel of our battalion. I was a fair shot and we were all very keen about our corps. We had a big field day on March 10th, 1863, when the late King Edward VII was married to Queen Alexandra. We had, of course, a whole holiday on the occasion of the "Marriage of the Prince of Wales," and we took up most of the day with our Field Day and Review. Our uniform was scarlet, and we were well drilled and smart.

The centenary of Waterloo was on June 18th, 1915. As a school boy I saw an old Waterloo veteran, the late Lord Combermere, at Buxton. I remember very well his stiff and padded figure and his dyed hair and moustache. He was a very old man who clung to the appearance of youth in figure and attire. There will soon be few persons alive who have seen with their own eyes veterans of the battle fought 100 years ago.

I owe more than I can say to the reverent and distinguished services of our school chapel and to the great care and pains taken with our Divinity work. We did a good deal of Greek Testament and the Thirty-nine Articles in Latin and English, which saved me much trouble in after years. We learnt enough Church History to be the foundation of future study. And I have never forgotten the clear outline of Mediaeval Church History that I learnt at school whereby I first grasped the historical continuity of the Church.

### Rossall Under Osborne.

When I was in the Upper Sixth in my last term, before leaving for Cambridge, everyone of us had won an open scholarship either at Oxford or Cambridge. Osborne, the then Headmaster, was the making of Rossall scholarship. He had the art of making us think for ourselves, and he taught me to write Latin verse. I won an open scholarship at Magdalene, Cambridge, in 1866. There were about thirty competitors and four vacant scholarships. I was third on the list and the school got a half holiday for my success. I shall never forget the joy of my first visit to Cambridge. Chawner, the head of the school, travelled with me and won his scholarship at Emmanuel, where he afterwards became Fellow and Tutor and ultimately Master.

### Cambridge.

I entered Cambridge in the October term of 1866, and went in for rowing more than reading. In 1868 I won a Foundation Scholarship at Magdalene, mainly by a set of Latin Elegiacs, which the Rev. the Hon. Latimer Neville, our Master, was kind enough to admire very much. I rowed in the famous Magdalene boat of May, 1868, which made five bumps in the First Division, and ended in the 11th place on the river. I ought to have had my oar given me, but for some reason it was omitted. When I went to England in 1911, the College Boat Club gave me my oar, which was forty-three years overdue, and it now hangs up as a trophy in my study. I also played in the College Eleven. The bat that I used in the season of 1869 also hangs in my study.

### Parnell.

The famous Irish leader, Charles Stewart Parnell, was up in my time at Magdalene. He was a taciturn sort of man

whom nobody knew very well. I remember batting with him as my partner in a match against Trinity Hall, when we both made a stand and scored fairly well. He was sent down on account of some street row with the police. I saw him once again when I was in the House of Commons at a debate in 1882, when he had become a political leader of extraordinary gifts and powers.

### Kingsley and Palmer.

During my time at Cambridge, Charles Kingsley was Professor of Modern History. He was not a success as a Professor, but his breezy, if somewhat inaccurate, lectures were crowded by undergraduates. He once said that Sir Walter Raleigh was the greatest man of the Elizabethan period: "And why, gentlemen?" said Kingsley. "Did he not bring tobacco into use in England?". Uproarious applause in the lecture room.

Kingsley was a Magdalene man, and one of my memories of dinner in Hall was his resounding laugh from the Dons' High Table, and his resonant voice, leading the conversation as the life of the party, usually a trifle dull and decorous.

Another Cambridge memory is of a short, intellectual-looking man with an auburn beard and a velvet jacket of distinctly Bohemian cut—the late Professor E. H. Palmer. He was a Fellow of S. John's and one of the first Orientalists in Europe. He was sent on a secret mission to Egypt in 1882 by the Gladstone Government, during the revolt of Arabi Pasha. His part was to keep the Arab tribes quiet and prevent them from destroying the Suez Canal. He was most successful in his work, but in August, 1882, he and his companions, Captain Gill and Lieutenant Charrington, R.N., were treacherously slain in an ambuscade. Their remains were recovered and buried in St Paul's Cathedral. Canon

Liddon alludes to their funeral in "Easter Sermons," Vol. II, p. 98.

### Dr. Lumby.

The late Professor Lumby was one of our College Lecturers, and he interested me very much in a course he gave on the "Theaetetus" of Plato. He was a most conscientious lecturer, and he was on one occasion confined to his bed by a nasty fall at the Cambridge Railway Station. Most lecturers would have considered such an accident an ample excuse for deferring a college lecture. Not so Dr. Lumby. We were told to attend the usual lecture in cap and gown in his bedroom. There were chairs grouped in order round the bed, and the lecturer was propped up by pillows, with his Plato in his hand and a huge white tie under the collar of his night-shirt. The effect of this conventional effort to maintain his dignity as a Don was irresistibly comic. I saw him last in 1893, when he was one of the five Divinity Professors who examined me for the B.D. I dined with him at S. Catharine's, of which he was then Professorial Fellow. He was very much exercised in his mind about my book ("The Church and the Civil Power"), which was accepted as a Thesis for my B.D. He was a strong "Church and State" man and thought that my views were revolutionary. He said to me: "Your book was very good, but I am so sorry that you hold *such* opinions!" He did not let his judgment of my opinions interfere with his agreement with the other Professors in granting me the degree.

### Sir John Sandys.

In 1868 I became the private pupil of one of the most brilliant classical scholars of the nineteenth century—J. E. Sandys, a Senior Classic and now Sir John Sandys, Public

Orator of the University. I worked with him mainly at Latin and Greek composition, and I was very proud of a translation of part of Longfellow's "Slave's Dream" into Latin Elegiacs, of which my Tutor said: "I can suggest no improvements in it". But my reading was desultory. I read the subjects that appealed to me, such as the Greek Tragedians, Pindar and Theocritus. But I detested Philosophy and neglected Plato and Aristotle. I spent the best part of one term in writing for the Chancellor's Medal for English verse, in which I was beaten by Beck, afterwards Master of Trinity Hall. I learnt English prosody and scansion when I was about eleven years old and I always could write in correct metre. But writing Tennysonian blank verse was an ordinary accomplishment of young men of my day with classical tastes. I did it as well as others, but I could never lay claim to anything more than verse-making, and my Latin verses were better than my English.

## Isle of Man.

I remember a very enjoyable visit to the Isle of Man during the Long Vacation of 1868. It was in the days before the island was overrun by cheap trippers from the manufacturing districts. I went to the top of Snaefell on a clear day and saw England, Ireland and Wales. I began sketching from nature about this time, and my cousin, Ernest Coe, an amateur who got pictures at times into the Academy, taught me how to paint in oils. I never had a proper training in art, but I had an inherited love for it which has never left me, and I gradually improved, especially in later years, in South Africa. Whenever I can spare the time I still sketch in oils, pastel and water colour. I fancy I wasted some time at Cambridge during my last year with painting in my rooms.

## Degree and Ordination on March 13th, 1870.

In June, 1869, I took a First Class in the "General," and I took the "Pass" in Theology in December, 1869. During the Long Vacation of the same year I began to think seriously of Holy Orders. I had been idle, and my life had been, to say the least, careless and purposeless. I was repelled by the evangelical teaching of my youth. The first thing that set me thinking was the curious contrast between the third chapter of S. John in the Greek Testament and the current evangelical teaching on Holy Baptism. At this time my father fell ill of incipient paralysis, and to his amazement I offered to be his curate. It was, of course, a great mistake, because I ought to have learnt discipline and method in a large town parish with a full staff of clergy. But he consented because he did not wish for the responsibility of a stranger in the parish. I was much helped spiritually at this time by my friend, Henry K. Hope, of Sidney College, Cambridge, an old school fellow at Rossall, who was ordained a year previously. He died in 1915. I went in for the Classical Tripos in January, 1870. In the Senate House I sat next to Christopher Wordsworth, afterwards Fellow of Peterhouse, well-known as one of the most brilliant scholars of his year. He was very ill at the time and quite unfit for the strain of the examination. On the second day he was worse, and after trying in vain to write a few lines of his paper, he rose from his place with a look of despair and left the Senate House. I felt very sorry for him. Of course, his scholarship was well-known, and he was given his "Aegrotat" degree as a matter of course. But he might well have been "Senior Classic" of his year.

On March 13th, 1870, I was ordained by Bishop Selwyn on my father's title in Lichfield Cathedral. Just after my ordination the Classical Tripos list came out and I was disappointed to find that I had taken only a Third Class. I had

been idle, but I suppose my mind had been preoccupied with my preparation for ordination, and I was not mentally in tune with the Tripos Examination. I knew enough of the general subjects for the Ordination Examination, partly from my school knowledge of Divinity, to pass it creditably. In fact I came out next to the Gospeller in the examination, and the Bishop was pleased with the way I passed.

### Bishop Selwyn.

I shall never forget my private interview with the Bishop before ordination. Bishop Selwyn was utterly different from the ordinary type of English Bishops. As the pioneer and founder of the Church of New Zealand he had been face to face with the elementary facts and conditions of the life and working of the Church Catholic, and he never got cramped by the conventions which hedge round the ordinary life of a Bishop of the Church of England. He was utterly fearless and unconventional in his dealings with men, and he was both sympathetic and downright in the way he handled his candidates for Holy Orders. He loved young men and set us at our ease at once. He began with me on very direct lines. He told me that he knew I had not been brought up to believe in the full teaching of the Catholic Church, and he questioned me closely as to what I believed. He said, "Don't answer me out of the books you have been reading. That is for my Examining Chaplains. Your examination is satisfactory enough. Tell me what *you* think and what *you* believe". He asked me whether I believed in Baptismal Regeneration and in the Real Presence of Our Lord in the Holy Eucharist. When I said that I did he told me to remember the two adverbs which were applied to the Sacramental Life of the Church, *objectivé* and *subjectivé*. "Never forget," he said, "that the grace of the Sacraments is given *objectivé*. Stand by that word." Then he asked me about

the Thirty-nine Articles. "Tell me plainly," said the Bishop, "of your doubts and difficulties, for you must have some." I replied that although I had given an answer in my papers I could not make head or tail of Article XVII. The Bishop smiled and rose from his seat. He walked quickly up and down the room, and for fully ten minutes gave me a most lucid explanation of the Catholic doctrine of Predestination which, he said, could be well fitted in with the words of Article XVII.

When I was ordained on the second Sunday in Lent (March 13th, 1870) everything was most dignified and impressive. The Dean of Lichfield (Champneys) preached the sermon which was pastoral rather than dogmatic. He was a "Churchly" Evangelical who had become more "Churchly" under the spell of Bishop Selwyn's influence.

## Theological Honours in 1871.

I entered upon my work at Hartington, which was too easy for an active man, with the determination to fulfil the Bishop's request to take Honours in Theology at Cambridge before being ordained Priest. He said: "You have not much work to do at Hartington; therefore you must read". Professor Gwatkin at that time took private pupils by correspondence for the Theological Honours Examination, which in after years became the Theological Tripos. I worked hard with him and took a Second Class in 1871. I was ordained Priest on Trinity Sunday, 1871, and the Bishop's counsels were, if possible, more impressive and practical than before my Diaconate.

The Church of England was disturbed by the Privy Council judgment in the Purchas Ritual Case. It was flagrantly unfair and unjust. All the Bishop said to us was: "Do not involve your Bishop in difficulties by any hasty action". He let us see that he was utterly out of sympathy

with the outcome of the relations of Church and State in England and that he hoped for the ultimate freedom of the Church. He made no attempt to defend the *status quo* in the Church of England, and we all felt loyally bound to avoid troubling one whose leadership was so joyfully accepted.

The Bishop never forgot anyone whom he had ordained. He sought us out at Diocesan Conferences and other gatherings. He asked us about our lives and work, and took so much interest in us that the older clergy were a little jealous of the notice we received.

### Ordained Priest, Trinity, 1871.

I shall never forget the Bishop's address to us on the eve of our ordination. He stood at the Altar of the beautiful Lady Chapel of Lichfield Cathedral, which was dim with shadows broken by glimmering lights. He said that the Divine Commission of the Priesthood which he would convey to us on the morrow was typified by Elijah's sacrifice on Mount Carmel. "It will be your sacred office," he said, "to stand at God's Altar and call down the Fire of the Holy Spirit upon the Holy Sacrifice, as Elijah did. It will be your office and privilege to absolve and bless as sharing in the Eternal Priesthood of the Ascended Christ."

One of my examiners for Priest's Orders was Archdeacon Moore, of Stafford. He was a genial old man and invited us to his house to talk over our papers. He was amusingly indignant when one of us affirmed that the sermon was *part of the Communion Office*, and for this reason the "Black Gown" was illegal. It was a curious coincidence that he was one of the Assistant Priests who laid hands on my father when he was ordained Priest, some thirty-five years before he laid hands on me on Trinity Sunday, 1871.

### Alton.

In 1872 I left Hartington and became Curate of Alton, in Staffordshire. My Vicar, Dr. Fraser, was a learned and able man who was elected Proctor for the Lichfield Diocese in the Southern Convocation. I was in charge of the Chapelry of Coton and I was also in charge of the daily and Sunday services in the Private Chapel of Lord Shrewsbury at Alton Towers. Lord and Lady Shrewsbury were most kind to me, and I met many leading men who from time to time formed their house parties. The chapel was very beautiful. It had been built by the last Roman Catholic Earl of Shrewsbury, and on Sundays was thrown open to the public. On one occasion when there was a large house party I preached a very definite sermon on the Apostolic succession. In the afternoon I was in the grounds of Alton Towers and Colonel Wilson Patten (afterwards Lord Winmarleigh), who was staying there, came up to me and said: "I have been fighting your battles ever since luncheon. Your sermon got on some of their nerves, but you were quite right to speak out as you did." Lord Shrewsbury came up and said the same sort of thing, and told me that it was a good thing to make some of his friends of Low Church tendencies realise that there were other views besides their own. I met the late Lord Salisbury and the late Duke of Rutland (then Lord John Manners), both interesting as Conservative leaders of the day; but the most interesting man I met at Alton Towers was Robert Browning, the Poet.

### Robert Browning.

He was an old man then, and my impression of him at dinner was of a vivacious and extremely well-groomed old gentleman, more a man of affairs than my then ideal of a poet. After dinner he drew me aside in a cosy corner of the conservatory, and we enjoyed our cigars together. He drew

me out about Greek literature, and I was bold enough to say that I had just read his "Balaustion's Adventure," which is for the most part an admirable translation of the "Alcestis" of Euripides. He seemed pleased that I knew the "Alcestis" and had read his translation, and he said that it was a sort of "holiday task" that he had accomplished, and not serious work.

It has been an abiding memory to me to have met Browning and to have had half an hour's conversation with him, though at the time I did not appreciate him as I did Tennyson. One learns the lessons which Browning teaches later in life.

### Bishop Christopher Wordsworth.

One day, when I was Curate of Alton, I went as usual to take Matins at the Private Chapel at Alton Towers, and I found Bishop Wordsworth of Lincoln in the chapel. He was staying for a few days with Lord Shrewsbury. The new Lectionary of 1871 had just become law and a year's grace was allowed before its compulsory introduction. My Vicar, Dr. Fraser, used it at once, and after Matins the Bishop came into the vestry. His manner was very kind and gracious and he asked me why I used that objectionable "new Lectionary" before I was obliged to do so. Of course, I said: "The Vicar's orders," and then he began very quietly, gently and firmly to enlighten me upon its manifold and various defects. The Bishop's criticisms of over forty years ago are re-echoed to-day in the Church Press and Convocation, and it seems certain that a reform of the Lectionary of 1871 will be found necessary.[1] He explained to me his use of his Episcopal "Jus Liturgicum" in the Diocese of Lincoln in setting forth a Table of Proper Lessons for Diocesan use, and

[1] In 1918, the Archbishop of Canterbury allowed the use of a new Table of Lessons drawn up by the Joint Committee of Convocation, but as yet it has not authority.

he told me why he inserted certain chapters and omitted others. It was extremely interesting to me, and I was much impressed with his kindness to a young priest whom he did not know personally. Ten years afterwards I met him at the Derby Church Congress of 1882, when I paid my first visit to England after settling in South Africa. I recalled the incident of our former meeting to his memory, and he was most fatherly and kind in his manner. I was at that time collecting funds for S. Cuthbert's new church in my parish, which was to be built as a Memorial to Bishop Gray, and Bishop Wordsworth wrote me a kindly letter about it, and sent me a subscription which helped me very much.

### Bishop Samuel Wilberforce.

On another occasion I met at Alton Towers a famous Prelate of a very different type—Samuel Wilberforce, then Bishop of Winchester. It was in the year 1872, when the Bishop was at his best. He had partially emerged from the Low Church traditions of his family, which had been intensified in him by the secession to Rome of his brilliant brother, Archdeacon Robert Wilberforce, and which had brought him into painful conflict with Dr. Pusey and the Tractarian leaders, after Newman's secession, when he was Bishop of Oxford. He was, when I met him, the real leader of the English Episcopate and the opponent of the Erastian policy of Archbishop Tait. He had given true and noble support to Bishop Gray in the troubles that arose after the deposition of Bishop Colenso, and the South African Church owes him a real debt of gratitude. He was no theologian and he had never realised the Sacramental verities of the Catholic Faith with any accuracy of outline. But for all that he was a vital spiritual force, and he restored to the Anglican Communion in a very definite way the true ideals of a working Bishop's life and office.

There was a great Church gathering in the Midlands, and the house party at Alton Towers included Lord Salisbury, Mr. Beresford Hope, and our Diocesan Bishop Selwyn, as well as Bishop Wilberforce. The parish clergy were asked to a large dinner party given to meet the distiuguished guests. The Vicar was away, and I remember feeling a thrill of shyness when I was called upon to say Grace as his representative. I shall never forget the wonderful power of conversation shown by Bishop Wilberforce. Everyone listened to him, but I well remember thinking that though he was more brilliant, he was not so great a man as Bishop Selwyn, who sat quietly listening to his eloquence. Bishop Wilberforce would fascinate men to follow him by his persuasive tact, but Bishop Selwyn was a born leader of men. You followed him because you felt you *must*.

On the following Sunday Bishop Wilberforce preached at the Parish Church and I had to chant the service. The Bishop's manner to me in the vestry was most kindly and courteous. I remember the great care he took in robing himself. *O si sic omnes!* If clergy only knew how hoods and stoles put on crookedly annoy the congregation and testify to a mental carelessness, they would be more careful in these small details, which show reverence and orderliness of mind. I remember that the Bishop turned round the "George" (which he wore with its blue ribbon as Prelate of the Order of the Garter) so that the Cross, on the obverse side, showed when he went into church. The English Bishops did not use the Pectoral Cross in those days, and Bishop Wilberforce used his Cross on the obverse side of the "George" as a pioneer effort to restore the use of the Pectoral Cross by Bishops, which is now general. The village church was crowded with a strangely representative congregation. The Royal House was represented by the aged Duchess of Cambridge and the Duchess of Teck, the grandmother and mother of Queen Mary. The peers and politicians from the

great House were there, and the ordinary Sunday congregation of North Staffordshire farmers and labourers. The Bishop preached on Elijah and the momentous choice which he set before Israel on Mount Carmel. Baal, the fashionable idol of the Court of Ahab and Jezebel, the god of physical force, worldly, materialistic prosperity and sensuality, was contrasted with Jehovah, the All Pure and the All True. There was a wonderful forcefulness behind the rush of the Bishop's torrential eloquence as he scathingly denounced the materialistic Baal worship of money, social advancement, and worldly ambition. The sermon was the most vivid denunciation of worldliness and smug conventional respectability that I ever listened to. Its tone was akin to that of another famous sermon of the Bishop's upon "The Seven Worse Spirits," when he speaks of the devil of sensuality leaving a man in middle age to be replaced by the sevenfold worse devil of hardened and conventional "respectability" which supplants open sin by Pharisaic self-satisfaction.

### Assassination of Lord Mayo.

Another memory of my Curacy at Alton I shall never forget. I was at lunch with Colonel Charles Bill, our squire, who was afterwards well known as Member for North Staffordshire. Lord and Lady Shrewsbury were there. In the middle of luncheon a telegram came for Lord Shrewsbury. He read it and rose from the table with an excited exclamation, and passed it to Lady Shrewsbury. "One of my best friends," he said. "What an irreparable loss to India!" It was the news of the assassination of Lord Mayo, the Viceroy, by a criminal at the Andaman Islands. The man pounced on the Viceroy with a knife and stabbed him to the heart, as he was walking with his staff around him. Lord and Lady Shrewsbury were so overcome by the shock that they asked to be allowed to go home at once. The shock to the whole

Empire was great. The only parallel to it in my recollection was the news of the assassination of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke in the Phœnix Park, on May 6th, 1882.

## S. Michael's, Handsworth.

My days at Alton were very pleasant. But my lines were cast in too pleasant places. I felt that I needed the discipline and hard work of a town parish. So in 1872 I accepted the Curacy of S. Michael's, Handsworth, which is an important town parish on the outskirts of Birmingham. The church was large and dignified and I lived at the Vicarage with the Vicar, Osbert Mordaunt, then unmarried, who became one of my lifelong friends. I learnt a great deal at S. Michael's which I have never forgotten. The people were very nice and kind, and the services were beautiful. The choir was renowned in the Midlands—a country of good choirs. When Gounod produced his Redemption at the Birmingham Festival, he chose a number of our choristers for the "Angelic Choir" in the Ascension-tide music. He wanted voices of a different *timbre* from the women's voices of the chorus, and our boys delighted him, though they were anything but angels. He electrified them after a rehearsal by crying "Ah, mes anges!" and kissing several of them fervently. The average south Staffordshire boy is not used to these methods, and the lads were too dumbfounded to do anything but gape with amazement at the excitable Maestro. Gounod's music always appeals to me with its melody, harmony and real power. It is the fashion nowadays to decry melody and substitute for it fantastical orchestration and the howling discords and disharmonies of the "music of the future". To me it is as detestable as "Post Impressionist" art. When Pope Pius X. banned most modern music and ordered a return to "Plain Chant" he made an exception in favour of Gounod's beautiful and dignified "Messe

Solennelle". I have heard it most carefully rendered at S. Michael's, Handsworth, and also in recent years at S. Mary's, Port Elizabeth. I shall never falter in my allegiance to Gounod as a Church musician.

My time at S. Michael's, Handsworth, passed very happily. There was a stupid Protestant outcry about Confession in 1873. Some 400 clergy petitioned Convocation with a view to the restriction of the right of young and inexperienced priests to hear confessions save in cases of grave necessity. These men were in advance of their time, and their petition that the Bishop should licence a certain number of experienced and wise priests as confessors in each Diocese was not only sensible but in accordance with the advice Bishop Selwyn gave us when I was ordained Priest in 1871.

The Bishop told us to pass on all cases of conscience to older and more experienced priests whenever we could. But Lord Shaftesbury called the unfortunate 400 "Priests of Baal," and excitable Protestants held meetings of protest all over the country, horrified at the very idea of the voluntary use of Private Confession which the Prayer Book permits and enjoins. Prebendary Daniel Moore, the leading Evangelical in London, refused to be carried away with this senseless torrent of bigotry, and preached a notable sermon against it.

### Protestant Meeting in Birmingham.

Birmingham was then a strong Protestant centre, and the Town Hall was crowded at a protest meeting with (*horresco referens*) the then Rector of Birmingham in the chair. His name need not be repeated here. *De mortuis!* I went to the meeting and sat in the front of the gallery. Frantic abuse of the Bishops was the keynote of most of the speeches —"abominable and damnable introduction of the Popish Confessional," "Jesuits in disguise," and the usual vulgar common-places of Protestant oratory were hurled forth with

brazen-tongued fluency. The chairman lost control of the meeting, and a wild-looking young curate got up in the body of the hall and said he objected to the Bishops being abused. He was promptly collared and actually "frog-marched" out of the hall, with a man at each arm and leg, and his coat tails dragging on the floor. I began to get very cross and indignant, and when the first resolution, which was violently worded, was put, and an overwhelming chorus of "Ayes" rent the hall, I shouted "No," at the top of my voice. Immediately a rush was made for me and my friend. But we got our backs to the wall and as they saw we meant business they kept out of our reach and only abused us. I told them that they were a pack of cowards, and asked the leader to take my card to the chairman, and tell him, with my compliments, that if he did not let me speak he was a coward as well. They took my card and took themselves off without venturing to lay hands on us. Needless to say, I was not allowed to speak. But I spoke very plainly on the whole matter in my sermon at S. Michael's on the following Sunday. I had to be very careful of my words, for the Vicar was away and I was in charge of the parish. But some of the leading members of the congregation asked me to print my sermon for general circulation, which, with the Vicar's subsequent approval, I did.

## Cardinal Newman—James Pollock.

One of my Handsworth memories was the occasional sight of the venerable figure of Cardinal Newman in his occasional walks in the streets of Birmingham. He was always accompanied by a younger priest on whose arm he used to lean. He was not yet a Cardinal in those days. I can see his bent figure now as I used to see it then—*clarum et venerabile nomen.*

Another fragrant memory of my Handsworth days was

my friendship with the brothers Pollock of S. Alban's, Birmingham. In 1873 I was asked by Father James Pollock to preach the annual Harvest Thanksgiving sermon at S. Alban's. It was in the old temporary church before the beautiful new church, which is a masterpiece of Pearson's art, was built. I remember that the character of the congregation impressed me very much. The Pollocks had got hold of the working classes of Birmingham and they never lost their wonderful influence, which is still abiding, though they have both passed to their rest.

I preached at the Dedication Festival of S. Alban's when I was in England in 1902, and the people were deeply moved by my personal memories of the priests they loved so well. I knew "Father Tom" best of the two brothers. He was a poet, as "Hymns Ancient and Modern" testify by including some of his most beautiful hymns. He also wrote that wonderfully devout manual, "The Daily Round," which has been of such widespread service to Christian people ever since.

About this time I began to work at a manual of the Prayer Book for theological students and candidates for ordination. We had no "Proctor and Frere" in those days, and something less diffuse and more definite than the original "Proctor on the Prayer Book" seemed necessary. I had the kindest possible help from Bishop Abraham, then Canon of Lichfield, who had examined me for Priest's Orders. He criticised and corrected for me all I had written on the Office for Holy Communion. Bemrose & Sons accepted my book, and it was most kindly received and favourably reviewed. It became a text-book at S. Mark's Training College, Chelsea, and was widely circulated. It ultimately passed through three editions, and although it is now superseded by other more recent books, I believe that it was useful in its day and I felt somewhat proud of the success of my first literary effort.

From my ordination I had always felt a wish to work in the Colonies. Many of the younger clergy felt with me that colonial work opened the door of a larger freedom than work in England. The Church controversies of the early seventies were a sore burden to many earnest and hardworking men. The entanglements of Church and State, which are the evil heritage of the Tudor Reformation, and the hopelessness of any definite solution in a Church burdened by a Secular Court of Appeal, which the conscience of such a saintly leader as Keble could not, as he quaintly put it, bring under the obedience due to authority enjoined in the Fifth Commandment, drew many of us to wish for work in a part of the Church which was disconnected with the State and was freed from the Erastian taint which clung to the Church of England.

### I go to South Africa as V. P. of S. Andrew's, Grahamstown.

Bishop Selwyn always impressed upon the younger clergy that we ought to hold ourselves in readiness for Colonial and missionary work, just as officers in the army are always ready for foreign service. He used this apt simile in a reply he wrote to a near relative of mine, who asked him to dissuade me from leaving England for Colonial work.

At the end of 1873 I accepted the post of Vice-Principal of S. Andrew's College, Grahamstown. I was married to Rose, daughter of Andrew Worthington, of Ball Haye Hall, Leek, Staffordshire, on January 13th, 1874, and a few days later we sailed for South Africa in the *Edinburgh Castle*, a pioneer ship of the famous Castle Line of Mail Steamers. In those days the voyage took about twenty-four days, and we touched nowhere between Dartmouth and Capetown. We landed in Capetown on Ash Wednesday, at daylight.

## CHAPTER II.

### EARLY DAYS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

#### Landing at Capetown.

Our first impressions of South Africa were pleasant enough. The *Edinburgh Castle* entered the docks of Table Bay in the early morning. Table Mountain, from the docks in the clear, bright dawn, was a sight never to be forgotten. The ever-varying light and shadow upon the rugged slopes of the mountain and the mystery of its cloud-wreathed battlements of rock, the beauty of the forest-clad lower slopes, and the old city of Van Riebeck and Van der Stel lying wide-stretched from the mountain to the sea, formed a picture to which no artist has yet done full justice. Table Mountain never becomes familiar or commonplace. After forty years I still look upon it every time I see it to discover fresh glory and beauty in its majestic outlines. I have four times revisited England since 1874, and the first sight of Table Mountain on the return voyage has always been a joy to me as a welcome home to South Africa, the land of my adoption, which has become dearer to me than the land of my birth.

After landing, my wife and I went to the Cathedral for Litany. Mr. Bindley was the Precentor, and I was much struck with the excellent tone of the choir and the reverent atmosphere of the old building.

It was built in 1830 on the model of S. Pancras, near Euston Station, and opened in 1834, and though it is now

superseded by the new French-Gothic Cathedral, which is partly completed, I have an affection for the historic memories of old S. George's. In the early days of British rule, after our final occupation in 1806, the Dutch Reformed Synod allowed us the use of their historic building in Adderley Street, which was completed in the early eighteenth century. This courtesy of the Dutch clergy allowed Bishop Turner of Calcutta in 1829 to confirm 180 candidates in the Dutch church, and in 1832, his successor, Bishop Daniel Wilson, held the first Anglican Ordination in South Africa, and confirmed 240 candidates also in the Dutch church. This kind courtesy of the Dutch Synod was further extended after Bishop Gray's Consecration in 1847. The English Church had only six churches built in the whole wide spaciousness of South Africa at that time, and when the Bishop started on his first long Confirmation tour, the Dutch churches were officially put at his disposal for Confirmation services. This courteous relation between the English Church and the powerful Dutch Reformed Communion, which includes the majority of South African European Christians as its adherents, has always remained unbroken, though it was very severely strained during the Boer War from 1899 to the peace of 1902. And I should like to record here that this cordiality was from the beginning fostered by Bishop Gray, and that the staunch Church principles which he impressed upon the South African Church from the very beginning of his episcopate did not hinder, but rather furthered, its development. The Dutch know exactly what the English Church in South Africa stands for. We have no Church parties, for, like the Scottish Church (which is also the Church of a minority) we have upheld for over sixty years the teaching of the Prayer Book as the Caroline Divines and their successors, the Tractarians, taught it. We have no narrowness, but our atmosphere causes imperceptibly a certain process of *assimilation*, if any clergy come to us from

the Old Country who are tinged with ultra-Protestantism or "Modernism". I well remember as an instance of this a genial parson from the North of Ireland throwing in his lot amongst us. At first he was somewhat horrified at our divergences from the absurd Puritan "Ritual Canons" of the Irish Church. I saw him a year or two afterwards and he showed me with pride that he had got as far as *coloured stoles!* The progress might be slow, but he deserved some encouragement, which I accordingly gave him.

### Capetown Cathedral.

But to return to Capetown Cathedral. The old building was opened on S. Thomas's Day, 1834. Dr. Cowie, Bishop of Madras, held a Confirmation in it in 1835 on his way to his Diocese. But it had to wait till Bishop Gray's Consecration in 1847 for a Bishop of its own. It was the scene of the historic Consecration of Bishop Mackenzie in 1861, as the first Missionary Bishop sent forth by the *Ecclesia Anglicana.* He was consecrated to found the Universities Mission after the fervent appeal of Livingstone to the English Universities to civilise and convert Central Africa. The Crown lawyers said that the Church of England had no power to consecrate a Bishop *in partibus infidelium.* But Bishop Gray took the bull by the horns. He said that the Church of South Africa would act despite the Crown lawyers. And when Bishop Gray had acted the legal difficulties in England vanished into thin air, and the consecration of Missionary Bishops became common enough.

### The Colenso Trial.

Then, Capetown Cathedral, in 1863, was the memorable scene of the world-famous trial of Bishop Colenso of Natal for false doctrine. It is the fashion nowadays to represent

Dr. Colenso as the victim of ecclesiastical intolerance and as a sort of pseudo-martyr for the "Higher Criticism" of the Old Testament. But this is an utterly false representation of the facts. Archbishop Tait, then Bishop of London, advised Bishop Gray to cite Dr. Colenso for trial, in order, as he thought, to get the Broad Church Party in England out of a scrape. He made up for this temporary lapse into ecclesiastical sanity when Bishop Gray acted on his advice. He promptly left the Metropolitan of South Africa in the lurch and threw his full weight on the side of the Erastian-Whig policy that denied any valid spiritual jurisdiction to the Church apart from the State. He forgot that Church and State were separated in South Africa, and that Bishop Gray was almost bound to condemn Dr. Colenso on account of the statements made in his published works. When the Archbishops of Canterbury, York, Armagh, and Dublin, as well as Bishop Tait of London and thirty-seven other Bishops asked him to resign his See because he could no longer accept (on his own admission) the Book of Common Prayer, their action, if somewhat irregular, was very natural under the circumstances. There were nine charges against him, only two of which referred to his views on the Old Testament. The other charges referred to his heresies upon the Incarnation and the Atonement. His views ultimately became practically Unitarian. The Broad Church Archbishop Whately of Dublin told him to resign his See. His former friend, Frederick Denison Maurice, the most unecclesiastical of Churchmen and attacked himself for undue theological liberalism on certain points, wrote to Dr. Colenso that "the consciences of Englishmen will be very strongly impressed with the feeling that you ought to resign your bishopric". Thus much for the famous Colenso trial and its sequel, the consecration of Bishop Macrorie in S. George's Cathedral by Bishop Gray on S. Paul's Day, 1868, to succeed him in the See from which he had been justly deposed. This was also a

bold assertion by the Metropolitan of Capetown, that the secular Law Courts of England, which confirmed the deposed Bishop in his title and the revenues of his See, had no restraining effect upon the Free and Unestablished Church of South Africa. I knew a good deal about this controversy and its issues before I landed in South Africa. And I saw Bishop Gray's throne in the Cathedral solemnly draped with black, though he had been dead for nearly two years, as the See was still vacant. I thought as I looked at that throne, with its emblems of mourning, of the life work of the great Prelate, so fitly called the "Athanasius of the South," and I wondered what manner of man his successor would be. When I came to know our late Archbishop West-Jones, as I did for over thirty years, I could truly say

> Primo avulso, non deficit alter
> Aureus . . .

and the beautiful Memorial Chapel in the new Cathedral at Capetown, which contains his sculptured effigy, recumbent after the fashion of ancient ecclesiastical tombs, is testimony visible and external to the strength, power, gentleness and tact of his long episcopate.

### Beauty of the Cape Peninsula.

But I am anticipating. Our first visit to Capetown naturally included a drive to Constantia, which revealed the glories of the Mountain from the other side, and the varied beauties of the Cape Peninsula. I thought then and I still think that it is one of the most beautiful spots on the face of God's earth.

Many years afterwards I was standing with Mr. Rhodes on the lower slopes of Table Mountain, behind his grand old Dutch house, "Groot Schuur". He was silent for a while and then turned to me and said: "I think that this is the finest view in the whole British Empire". And I think he

was right. Before us and across the densely wooded foreground lay the turquoise blue waters of Table Bay, gleaming in the sunlight, and beyond, the distant mountains of the "Hottentots' Holland" range with their deep purple shadows and clearly outlined peaks. Our clear atmosphere is one chief glory of South African scenery. English artists, accustomed to neutral tints and soft cool shadows, cannot at first paint our sunshine and clear distances. But when they once realise the brilliance of our landscapes and learn to paint them, they delight in them as much as a South African artist can.

The beautiful old Dutch house at Constantia was my first introduction to South African architecture. It was over 200 years old, and like other old Dutch houses, showed the skill in details of craftsmanship which is a marked characteristic of old South Africa. The old "Town House" at Capetown, still used for municipal purposes when I landed, and for many years afterwards, is another excellent type of Dutch architecture, and so is the old building which is now the South African "Church House" and the home of our splendid Ecclesiastical Library. People in England forget that Capetown was a considerable city at the close of the seventeenth century, over 100 years before the British Flag flew over the old Castle at Capetown.

## Port Elizabeth.

But to go back to my personal memories. We left Capetown by the *Edinburgh Castle* for our 500 mile voyage up the coast to Port Elizabeth. I sketched the coast scenery, which was most impressive in its beauty, until I had to "seek the seclusion which a cabin grants," and so did most of "the sisters and the cousins and the aunts" travelling with us. For the passage was rough. The then Mayor of Port Elizabeth occupied the next cabin to ours. Mr. H. H.

Solomon, I knew afterwards, as an excellent Mayor, but on that occasion I did not appreciate his proximity. He was audibly afflicted with *mal de mer*.

We landed at Port Elizabeth in a sailing boat, for tugs in those days were not, and there was no railway to Grahamstown.

### Archdeacon White.

Archdeacon White met us and we stayed a couple of days in Port Elizabeth with him. He asked me to preach my first sermon in South Africa in S. Mary's Church, so soon to be the scene of my long ministry as Rector. It is curious how coming events cast their shadows before. I had a longing to be Rector of S. Mary's and a curious presentiment that this would some day come to pass. Archdeacon White was one of the older type of South African clergy. He was a Wykehamist and a Fellow of New College, Oxford, where he took a brilliant degree. He came to Bishop Gray in the early days to found the Diocesan College, of which he was the first Head. He was made Canon of Capetown and subsequently became Archdeacon of Grahamstown. He was a sound Canonist and a wise statesmanlike leader of very definite Tractarian principles.

### Dean Williams.

We drove to Grahamstown in Cobb's coach, a very shaky vehicle with four horses. The road was execrable, as it is even to-day, when motorists look on it as one of the worst bits of road in the Eastern Province. We arrived at Grahamstown after a drive of eleven hours, very tired and dusty. But we had a warm welcome from the Rev. L. S. Browne, the Principal of S. Andrew's, and soon settled down to our new life. The College Chapel services were very bright

and hearty. A number of people who did not care for the long walk to the Cathedral and who did not like the personality of Dr. Williams, the then Dean, used to attend the chapel services. I shall never forget my first sight of the famous Dean, whose rebellion against his Diocesan ultimately brought about a schism in the Diocese, and the curious "Grahamstown Judgment" delivered by the Privy Council in 1882. I was in High Street and I saw a stout, rubicund person in a light grey alpaca jacket, surmounted by a dignitary's hat with an enormous rosette. I am afraid I stared too much at this unwonted spectacle. I overheard someone in the street saying, "That new parson from England has never seen anything like the Dean before". And I hadn't. Some time afterwards I was introduced to him, and he politely said, "Decencies of ecclesiastical costume don't fit in with our climate". His civility extended to his appointing me Precentor of the Cathedral on a nominal stipend, and I combined this work with my duties as Vice-Principal of S. Andrew's. The arrangement did not last long. When the Dean found out that I was on friendly terms with the Bishop, I got notice to quit.

I am not sure that I was of much use as a schoolmaster. I would teach boys that wanted to learn, and my old boys, now scattered all over South Africa, used to like me. A year or so ago I was entertained as Archdeacon at an inland town. The Stipendiary Magistrate, who was the principal person present amongst the laity, made a speech of welcome and alluded very kindly to his old school days. "The Archdeacon," he said, "took great pains with the Matriculation Class, of which I was one," and then he made a little pause and said, "but we none of us passed!" We all laughed consumedly, but the good man had not the least idea that he had given me away, and I had to tell him afterwards.

### Bishop Merriman.

The outstanding feature of my early days in South Africa was the kindliness shown to me by Bishop Merriman, the third Bishop of Grahamstown. The Bishop was the father of a brilliant son, who, as the Right Hon. J. X. Merriman, was the last Premier of the Cape Colony before the Union in 1910. But the Bishop had qualities which his son never possessed. The versatile politician lacked that power of consistent leadership which was the outstanding feature of his father's character. He had the political insight of Lord Randolph Churchill, but did not always follow out his own intuitions, because, like the late Lord Salisbury, he was "a master of flouts and jeers," which he sometimes flung at friends and foes alike. He was therefore more brilliant in Opposition than in Office. Bishop Merriman could lead steadily in one direction and never turned to the right hand or to the left. He was Bishop Gray's *fidus Achates* and most devoted chief of staff from the early days when he became Archdeacon of Grahamstown, in 1848 (before the See of Grahamstown was founded in 1853). He was a man of splendid physical powers, who walked hundreds of miles on his visitations, and retained his Archdeaconry (save for a year spent as dean of Capetown) till his consecration as the third Bishop of Grahamstown in 1871. He was, as he called himself, an "old-fashioned Puseyite," and he visited England so rarely that he was untouched by later developments of Church life and thought. He was pre-eminently a strong man, who could stand "four square to every wind that blew," with a rugged forcefulness of character and straightforward openness of soul, which was conjoined with a dignified courtesy of manner and a constant consideration for the feelings of others. His praise was inspiring and his rebukes left no sting or soreness behind them.

### Clerical Mufti.

He had a fine old-fashioned regard for the outward dignity of his clergy. He once caught me with a straw hat on in the principal street of Port Elizabeth. He said, "I don't like to see the Rector of S. Mary's in a straw hat," and I saw the point of it at once. Nowadays, straw hats are common enough, and some clergy forget their obligations in the matter of apparel. Personally, I have the very strongest prejudice against clergy dressing as laymen, even on a holiday. They may don mufti for cricket, tennis or golf, but beyond this a priest should wear the customary dress of a priest and value it just as an officer ought to value his uniform.

Bishop Merriman was a contrast to some modern Bishops, who show a tendency to play up to the laity at the expense of their clergy. The laity trusted and respected Bishop Merriman, but he made his clergy feel that they were his first care. He was a true "Pastor pastorum". I have always felt it an honour and a privilege that I worked under Bishop Merriman from 1874 to his death in 1882.

### Consecration of Dr. West Jones to the See of Capetown.

On Ascension Day, 1874, the vacant See of Capetown was filled up by the consecration of Dr. W. West Jones as Metropolitan, by Archbishop Tait in Westminster Abbey. The new Metropolitan's difficulties began at his consecration.

### Archbishop Tait and the Suffragan's Oath.

Archbishop Tait put forward the absurd and uncanonical claim that the Metropolitan of South Africa should take the same oath of allegiance to the See of Canterbury which was required at the consecration of a Diocesan Bishop of the Province of Canterbury. No such oath, of course, could be or

ever had been required in the case of a consecration of an Archbishop of York, who is Metropolitan of his own Province. The independence of the ecclesiastical Province of South Africa was at stake. The difficulty was eventually removed by the oath being qualified by a document, signed jointly by the Metropolitan and Archbishop Tait, to the effect that the Metropolitan rights of the See of Capetown were preserved intact. The idea that Colonial Bishops and clergy could be treated as "poor relations" by the august dignitaries of the Established Church of England received a rude shock, and subsequently the South African Church took the matter in hand and passed a Canon forbidding our Metropolitan (if consecrated in England) to take a Suffragan's oath to Canterbury under any circumstances whatever. At the same time the South African Church has gone further than any other Colonial Church in acknowledging the Primacy of the See of Canterbury over the whole Anglican Communion. We have stated that the Archbishop of Canterbury is "Primate of Primates, Archbishop and Metropolitan," which is historically correct, whilst it does not involve any subordination of Capetown to Canterbury of any character differing from the ancient subordination of York to Canterbury, which is quite a different thing to the obligation implied by the oath of obedience taken by an ordinary Diocesan Bishop to his Metropolitan.

I was privileged to know and value our late Archbishop during the whole period of his long Episcopate. He was a clear-headed ruler with considerable knowledge of the Canon Law of the Catholic Church, which has been for years my own special study. His policy was always clear and definite. He was wonderfully preserved from making mistakes, though he was anything but a safe and cautious man of indefinite opinions. S. Paul's "moderation" (in Philippians iv. 5) is, of course, a mistranslation, correctly altered into "forbearance" by the revised version of 1881. We cannot have too

much "forbearance" in "suffering fools gladly" and in dealing with opponents with spiritual tact. But what is called "a moderate Churchman" embodies a hateful combination of uninspiring caution with a popular Laodiceanism. No one likes a "moderately" fresh egg. The late Archbishop was a tactful ecclesiastical statesman with a firm grasp of Catholic order and faith. He could not put up with the type of cleric who advertises for a curate in the *Guardian* and requires a man who is "Mod. High Church, E.P. No extremes, easy Parish. Excellent golf links near the village".

### Leadership of Archbishop West Jones.

I believe the late Archbishop would have preferred a militant "Protestant" who was in earnest and therefore capable of conversion, to the colourless "Moderate". He had real gifts of leadership and powers of administration. He was an admirable financier and possessed unusual judicial insight. Many years afterwards there was a serious dispute between the Bishop of Pretoria and the Rector of S. Mary's, Johannesburg, concerning some extremely complicated questions of Church property. Bishop Bousfield of Pretoria was a combative person who had effectually put up the backs of the Rector and Parochial Authorities of S. Mary's. The matter came to a formal civil arbitration and both parties agreed to accept the Archbishop as arbitrator. Leading counsel were engaged on both sides, and the public were admitted to the Court, as the dispute had occasioned much controversy. The late Mr. Leonard, Q.C., was in the case, and someone casually remarked, "You will have an easy job with the Archbishop. What does he know about law?" But when the Court sat, the eminent barristers found that they had met more than their match in the Archbishop. His judgment was clear and luminous. It dealt with very complex points of law so decisively that both parties were satisfied that justice

had been done. The most eminent of the barristers engaged in the case said that there was only one Judge on the South African Bench who could have dealt with the matter as ably as the Archbishop did, and that was the Chief Justice (afterwards Lord de Villiers). This worthy tribute to the Archbishop's judicial powers came from a man who did not profess to be a Christian.

Archbishop West Jones consolidated the life work of Bishop Gray and welded together the scattered South African Dioceses into one strong Province. He will deservedly be remembered as one of the greatest Prelates of the nineteenth century.

### The South African Church in 1874.

I suppose I may here fitly summarise the condition of the South African Church when I began my work in it.

In 1874, the South African Church consisted of the Dioceses of Capetown, Grahamstown, Maritzburg, Bloemfontein, S. John's, Kaffraria, Zululand and S. Helena. The newly appointed Metropolitan had a difficult task to face. How well he faced his early difficulties is lucidly and sympathetically recorded in his "Life" (published in 1914) by his Chaplain, the Rev. M. H. M. Wood. The Church was strong in the City of Capetown and its suburbs but weak in most of the country parishes, where the English people were in a minority. In many of these parishes strong Missions to the coloured people (whom one may call "Eur-Africans" in contradistinction to the pure blooded natives) were established, which have since considerably grown in influence.

### Archdeacon Lightfoot.

Archdeacon Lightfoot's noble work at S. Paul's, Capetown, amongst this class has made his name a household word at

the Cape. He had planted it firmly in 1874 and his memory is still green amongst the people he loved and served so well.

The Diocese of Grahamstown had a considerable English population, the result of the emigration of the British settlers of 1820, whose descendants supplied the backbone of the British population in South Africa. In Natal the Church was distracted by the Colenso Schism, for the details of which reference may be made to my "Life of Dean Green" (Longmans, 1910), in which I carefully entered upon the whole subject with a fulness of documentary information which can find no space here. Bishop Macrorie, Dr. Colenso's successor, was winning hearts in Natal by his tactful graciousness of manner, true kindliness of heart, and firm Churchmanship. But in 1874, and until his death ten years afterwards, Dr. Colenso claimed to be Bishop of Natal, and his few adherents gave great trouble by their open schism and control of certain ecclesiastical properties which they got hold of through the Law Courts upon the principle, *Summum ius summa iniuria.* Happily the Natal Parliament in 1910 passed an Act which restored these misappropriated Church properties to the Bishop of Natal and his Diocese, which forms an integral part of the South African Church. The so-called "Church of England" schism in Natal is now practically dead and buried. In 1874, Bishop Webb had begun to carry out successfully his work of organising the Diocese of Bloemfontein in the then isolated pastoral Republic of the Orange Free State. Our missions in Basutoland were not begun by Bishop Webb until 1876, but Kimberley Diamond Fields, started a few years before, opened up a new field to the Bishop's energies. Bishop Callaway was hard at work in the recently formed Diocese of S. John's, in the Transkeian native territories. He made Umtata his Cathedral centre, and built the first house in what is now a flourishing city and the capital of the Transkei. Here is a modern

instance of a Bishop founding a city and the civil authorities recognising the wisdom of his selection of a site by following his lead and building a capital.

The unconsecrated building, called in those days "S. James's Church," was built for the rapidly increasing white population. It is now the Parliament House for the Native Council of elected native representatives, which is so useful a factor in governing the native territories, and the congregation which used to use it now worship in the dignified new Cathedral of S. John's.

The See of Zululand was vacant in 1874, and the island Diocese of S. Helena was suffering from decreased population and bad times. The aged Bishop Welby was beloved by his people, but there was little scope for anything in S. Helena but caring for the remnant that was left.

### Sir H. Barkly.

I must now turn to the political and social condition of South Africa in 1874. The Cape Colony was making its first trial of "responsible government" under the Molteno Ministry. Sir Henry Barkly, as Governor, had been instructed by the Colonial Office to force "responsible government" upon the Cape Colony.

### Responsible Government in Cape Colony.

The country was not ripe for this measure of self-government. The British Colonists of the eastern districts opposed the grant of "responsible government" tooth and nail. Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown and the other English centres did their level best to throw the measure out of the old Cape Parliament, which had been established with limited legislative powers and an executive responsible to the Governor, in 1854. The Cape Parliament in 1874 used English ex-

clusively in its debates. The Dutch majority took very little interest in politics. The average Dutch farmer looked upon the Cape Parliament as a debating assembly of British colonists, into which he had no ambition to enter. He heard dim rumours that this assembly meant to build railways and deprive him of his trade of carrying the produce of the country in his ox-wagons. He was politically dumb, and his leading idea was to bring grievances direct to the Governor by petition. To him the Cape Parliament was an exclusive body of persons who were alien to his ideals. Its true parallel was "Grattan's Irish Parliament" before the Union, which excluded Roman Catholics and legislated for the "Protestant interest". In those days Celtic Ireland did not care very much about the Protestant Parliament that sat in Dublin, and in like manner Dutch South Africans in Cape Colony did not care about a seat in the Cape Parliament in 1874.

## The Boer Republics.

The Boer Republics of the north were pastoral communities too far off to influence the politics of the Colonies of the Coast. Natal had a mixture of Crown Colony Government with a Legislature that could *talk* without much power of acting.

But the reason why the Eastern Province people opposed "responsible government" was twofold. They feared that the existing bureaucratic rule of Capetown would be intensified and extended. A few also thought of the possibility of the Dutch waking up to political life and capturing the Parliament and the Government.

Within ten years of 1874 these fears materialised into solid facts. In 1884 Jan Hofmeyr and his wonderfully organised political machine, the "Afrikander Bond," had become the dominant political factor in the Cape Colony.

Jan Hofmeyr was a great patriot and a gifted political leader. I knew him in the after days very well.

My life at S. Andrew's, Grahamstown, was very pleasant. The College Chapel was open to the public in those days, and our Sunday evening congregation demanded something more than the pulpit teaching usually given to boys. I delivered a course of sermons on the link between the Beatitudes and the Lord's Prayer, which I carefully prepared for ultimate publication. The theological reading necessary for this purpose was useful to me, and after re-delivering the addresses in S. Mary's, Port Elizabeth, I published them under the title of "Thoughts on the Harmony between the Beatitudes and the Lord's Prayer" (Bemrose & Son) in 1876. The little volume was most kindly reviewed in the Church Press.

## I Become Rector of S. Mary's.

On S. Matthias' Day, 1875, Bishop Merriman appointed me to the Rectory of S. Mary's, Port Elizabeth. I was very young and inexperienced for so prominent a post and barely of four years' standing in Priest's Orders. But the Bishop's choice of men was limited, and so when he told me to go I went, and am now (1915) still where he placed me then.

## Port Elizabeth Railway Opened in 1875.

Some important events took place in South Africa in 1875. The opening of the first railway in the Eastern Province took place in June, and as an official guest at the ceremony I saw the first passenger train leave the Port Elizabeth station.

The only other railways in South Africa in 1875 were the fifty miles of the future main line to the north from Capetown to Wellington, the Capetown suburban line, and the

three miles line from the harbour at the Point to Durban in Natal. There are now (1915) 7045 miles of railway open in the Union of South Africa, and about 2000 miles in Rhodesia, part of which forms a portion of the Cape to Cairo line. We are also linked up with the railways built by the Germans in South-West Africa.

### President Burgers.

One day, in the middle of 1875, I saw a carriage driving up to the Port Elizabeth Club, in which was seated a somewhat insignificant-looking man in a tall hat. It was President Burgers of the Transvaal on his way to accept the hospitality of the Club at a public luncheon. He made a speech full of friendly platitudes but reticent as to his great ideal of a Boer supremacy over the whole of South Africa, with the Transvaal as its centre. He sowed the seeds, and his bitter enemy, Paul Kruger, reaped the harvest. He had been a Dutch Reformed minister in the Cape Colony who had been ejected for heresy. He rejected orthodox Christianity and professed the type of semi-Unitarian "Liberalism," then in vogue in Holland and Germany, as the logical result of Continental Protestantism. He fought his case in the Secular Courts and the Supreme Court of the Cape Colony declared the sentence of the Dutch Synod, which deprived him, "null and void".

### The Privy Council and Burgers.

This decision was upheld by the Privy Council on appeal. Here was an exact parallel to the Colenso case. A Civil Court purported to annul the spiritual sentence passed by a Church Court. The result in both cases was the same. The legal victory of Mr. Burgers was as barren of results as the legal victory of Dr. Colenso. Just as the loyal Church

people of Natal elected another Bishop (in place of Dr. Colenso) who exercised full spiritual jurisdiction, so did the Dutch act in the case of Mr. Burgers. His congregation were put under another minister, and his position became impossible. He left the Colony for the Transvaal, took to politics and got himself elected President. The Dutch bitterly resented this decision of the Privy Council in the Burgers case, as destructive of their spiritual independence, just as much as the South African Church did in the Colenso case. And we had a strong Dutch sympathy in our hard case. If the South African Church had not claimed complete independence from the Privy Council decision, and the consequent complete legal separation from the Church of England, the Dutch would have regarded us as an exotic offshoot from the Established Church with no claim to their sympathy. Common action between our Synods would have been impossible and common action is possible on many points now, although we hold that Episcopacy is (by Divine Right) of the *esse* of the Church just as strenuously as our Dutch Reformed brethren deny it. We have formulated a true *concordat* with them, based on Catholic principles, which are the very reverse of the unhappy proposals of the Protestant Bishops of Uganda and Mombasa at the Kikuyu Conference of 1913. Our chief common ground of sympathy with the Dutch Reformed Communion is a mutual abhorrence of Erastianism, and dislike (on *principle*) of the idea of an Established Church, and further the acceptance by the Dutch in common with ourselves of the Athanasian Creed as well as the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds as the bulwarks of orthodox Christianity.

### Burgers Unpopular in the Transvaal.

To return to President Burgers. He was a sort of "Dr. Leyds" some twenty years before his time. He annoyed the

Boers of the "Back-veld" by talking of railways and appointing a "Minister of Education". They considered him a heretic and looked on his appeal to the Privy Council as treachery to South Africa. And so a number of them inspanned their wagons and "trekked" across the Kalahari Desert to find a new home away from Burgers and his new-fangled ideas, just as their fathers had "trekked" in 1836 to escape from the British Government, who had forcibly freed their slaves without adequate compensation.

### Boer Trek to Angola.

These wanderers, after many sufferings and deaths in the desert, reached the Portuguese Province of Angola, where they formed a small settlement at Humpata. Rumours of their miserable plight reached the Cape Colony and the hearts of the British settlers were touched. Racial feeling hardly existed, and I helped to collect a considerable sum of money in Port Elizabeth to relieve their distress. This primitive community at Humpata is still there, untouched by all that has passed in South Africa for the last thirty years. Nominally they are Portuguese subjects, but the Portuguese severely left them alone. It is said that they expelled a schoolmaster for teaching that the world is round and not flat. The future of this small community is a curious problem, especially since the rebel and traitor, Maritz, escaped after De Wet's rebellion and joined them.

### Lord Wolseley.

It was in 1875 that I noticed a group of British Officers in *mufti* standing on the steps of the Port Elizabeth Town Hall. The centre of the group was a smart, keen-looking soldier, a sort of man who would cause a chance bystander to ask, almost involuntarily, "Who is that?" I probably did so, and

found myself in the presence of Sir Garnet Wolseley and his Staff *en route* to Natal. He had been sent to South Africa, fresh from his triumph at Ashanti, on a delicate and onerous mission.

### Rebellion of Langalibalele.

In 1873, Langalibalele, a Natal Native Chief, broke the twenty years' peace between the natives and Government by active rebellion. The Natal Government was caught unawares and sent a Colonial force against him, which suffered some loss in an action at Bushman's Pass. More forces were sent and he was captured and exiled as a State prisoner to Robben Island. Dr. Colenso stirred up the Aborigines Protection Society, and Langalibalele found himself crowned with a martyr's halo in his luxurious captivity. He had his wives and attendants with him, and he was in *exile* rather than a prisoner in the ordinary sense of the term. He had considerable influence, and the Natal Government had ample reason for deporting him.

### Recall of Sir B. Pine and Resultant Mischief.

But the Aborigines Protection Society carried the day. Sir Benjamin Pine, the luckless Governor of Natal, was recalled as a scapegoat, and Sir Garnet Wolseley, who knew nothing of South Africa, was given a plenary commission to deal with affairs in Natal. He reported that the Natal Government had dealt justly in Langalibalele's matter, and that the natives were not oppressed by it. He made some changes in the Government, which clipped the wings of the Natal Parliament and increased the power of Downing Street to interfere directly in local matters of which the Colonial Office was necessarily ignorant. But the natives took Langalibalele for a hero. This mistaken policy of recalling Sir B. Pine and

the native appreciation of the action of their friends in London was the beginning of many sorrows. From the seeds of unwisdom then sown sprang the terrible aftermath of the Kafir Wars of 1877 and 1878, the Zulu War of 1879 and the Basuto War of 1881.

### Daniel Mzamo.

The South African native despises hysterical sentiment whilst he is ready enough and astute enough to utilise it when it is exhibited by white men in England on his behalf. Firmness and justice he understands. He understood Cecil Rhodes, and the natives of the Transkei have never abused the measure of electoral self-government which he gave them by the Glen Grey Act, under which the present Native Council was established which manages the local affairs of the vast territory of the Transkei. I knew very well Daniel Mzamo, the nephew of Langalibalele, who died recently at a good old age. He was ordained Deacon by Bishop Merriman, and worked the Native Mission Church at Port Elizabeth admirably. He was subsequently native Priest-in-Charge of our Mission to the Zulus at Durban, and his son, whom I also know, is a Priest in the Diocese of Natal. I shall never forget Daniel coming to me one day, shortly after his ordination, to tell me the story of his encounter with a Hottentot Independent minister. They were arguing about the necessity of Episcopal ordination. Daniel said, "Sir, I found he had nothing to say when I had done". I asked what argument he had used. He said, "I made a long row of stones on the road all close together and at the side of them I put one stone opposite each end of my row of stones and *no stones in between.* I said to him, "Here is my row of many stones. Here is yours with only two. My row of many stones means the succession from the Apostles to Bishop Merriman and the *end* stone is *me,* whom he has ordained.

You stand *alone* at *one* end and the Apostles at the *other* and you have no stones *in between*. You have no *succession*." I thought his method a very apt *argumentum ad hominem*. Many years after I attended the Natal Synod as a visitor. Temperance was being discussed, and Bishop Hamilton Baynes asked Mzamo to speak, as the Senior Native Priest. He was rather nervous but said, "My Lord, I have no drunken natives in my congregation at Durban; they are all good". What he meant was that none of his congregation had been before the Magistrate for drunkenness, which was true enough. The Bishop said, "But I have heard of Christian natives being drunk at Durban". Mzamo thought for a moment and said, "My Lord, they were all Wesleyans". The Synod was convulsed, and poor Mzamo could not imagine why. The natives are humorous enough but their sense of humour is of a different character from ours.

The year 1875 also saw the almost imperceptible beginnings of the great conflict between Briton and Boer which ended with the Peace of Vereeniging in 1902, after a war which taxed the resources of the Empire to an unprecedented extent.

### Visit of J. A. Froude, the Historian.

In July, 1875, I was asked to form one of a deputation to receive Mr. J. A. Froude, the eminent historian, on his arrival at Port Elizabeth. In after years I remembered only the mischief he did, and was sorry I joined in his reception. Lord Carnarvon, the Colonial Secretary, was anxious to form a South African Confederation. His Bill passed the Imperial Parliament after encountering the first scientific and organised attempt at obstruction on the part of Mr. Parnell and the Irish Party. Sir George Grey could have united South Africa eighteen years earlier if the Imperial Government had not repudiated his policy and recalled him from his office as Governor of the Cape. It is always the way with English

politicians. The men who recalled Sir George Grey did not take occasion by the hand. They made Lord Carnarvon's Federation Policy impossible, and they thus caused the Boer War of 1899. Lord Carnarvon chose Mr. Froude as the emissary of his Confederation Policy. His choice of an agent was even worse than his mistimed policy of South African Union. The Eastern Province of the Cape Colony supported Lord Carnarvon because they hated the domination of the Capetown clique, who ruled the Colony under the Molteno Ministry. This is why they thoughtlessly welcomed Mr. Froude, who had paid an informal visit to South Africa in 1874. The policy of Separation for the Eastern Province of the old Cape Colony is not dead yet. And in 1875 it was very much alive. The Eastern Province was firmly convinced that it would become a separate State in a Confederated South Africa. Lord Carnarvon's policy held the Eastern Province till the people began to realise how impossible it was to force Confederation from without and how much mischief Mr. Froude's ill-judged speeches had done all over South Africa during his previous visit in 1874. He went to Pretoria and Bloemfontein and flattered the Republicans of the Transvaal and Free State by telling them of the glories of Holland in the olden days. They knew very little of their ancestral history. Motley's "Dutch Republic" was unknown save to a very few. And the best Boer families were of Huguenot descent and therefore had no racial affinity with Hollanders.

### The Mischief Done by Mr. Froude.

President Burgers and President Brand of the Free State were most polite to Mr. Froude, but they were firm in their determination not to accept the British Flag. I heard him speak at Port Elizabeth on his return visit in 1875, and he tried to minimise his failure on the Flag question. But it

was useless. His message of a United South Africa was promptly grasped by the Northern Republics. The idea was a grand one, but the future Union in their view was a United South African Republic under its *own* flag. They were amply justified by Mr. Froude's Bloemfontein speech, in which he attacked their neighbours at Kimberley. He said "What interest have miners and storekeepers and speculators in the independence of South Africa? Under any flag they can equally pursue their trade. You have the misfortune to possess a soil and climate of unexampled excellence, and a position on the Globe of the most attractive to every ambitious and aggressive Power. The independence of South Africa will come when you can reply to these powers with shot and shell." What could the Free Staters make of these words save an encouragement to a Federated South African Republic under its own flag? Mr. Froude's words were the direct encouragement of the policy that made Kruger defy the Empire in 1899. They took Mr. Froude's idea of Union and translated it to suit their own ends. So far Mr. Froude had only planted a seed of future discord. But his political harangues in the Cape Colony during 1875 kindled the dormant racial aspirations of a more educated class of Dutchmen. Mr. Froude was the real if unconscious originator of the "Afrikander Bond". The Molteno Ministry was naturally annoyed at Mr. Froude's semi-official public utterances. They opposed Confederation because it meant to them the separation of the Eastern Province. They resented the direct interference of an emissary from Downing Street in the Colony that enjoyed the doubtful boon of responsible government.

The railway from Port Elizabeth to Uitenhage (a 20 mile run) was opened by Mr. Merriman, the youthful Commissioner of Public Works, who had just joined the Molteno Cabinet. Mr. Froude was at the banquet that followed, and Mr. Merriman denounced him as an irresponsible interloper

who had no right to talk politics all up and down the country without the consent of the Cabinet. Technically Mr. Merriman was right, but the audience was "Eastern Province" and keenly opposed to the Government. They expressed their disapproval by such violent methods that the banquet ended in a disorderly uproar.

Sir Charles Warren said some years ago, "The giving of a full constitution to the Cape Colony so prematurely is a very doubtful blessing to the country, and the extraordinary conduct of Mr. Froude last year in stumping the country and falling foul of the Cape Ministry and the Governor, while posing as speaking for the Secretary of State, has done a world of mischief". ("On the Veld in the Seventies," by Sir C. Warren, p. 214).

## My Work as Rector of S. Mary's.

My first year as Rector of S. Mary's was full of encouragement. There was opposition by a few to the introduction of a surpliced choir, but it was not serious. Archdeacon White had told me when I was appointed that I must build a new church for the south end of Port Elizabeth, where he had at his own cost purchased a Mission Hall and opened church services with a resident priest. Accordingly I set to work, and in October, 1875, Bishop Merriman laid the foundation-stone of the first new church which I built in the parish. It was completed and opened for Divine Service on S. Peter's Day, 1876. On Easter Day, 1876, I introduced the Eucharistic vestments at S. Mary's with the full sanction of Bishop Merriman. Certain communicants had sent me a written request to take this step, and I referred the letter to the Bishop, saying that I desired to act with his sanction, as the vestments were not as yet in use anywhere in the diocese. He replied that in his judgment the English Church permitted the use of a distinctive vestment for the

celebrant of the Holy Eucharist, and he sanctioned the request.

### Bishop Merriman's Church Policy.

Shortly afterwards the Bishop was present at a sung Eucharist at 11 a.m. After service he came to me and said, "I thought you wore the vestments". I explained that I only wore them at the 8 a.m. Eucharist to avoid difficulties with some old-fashioned church folk. The Bishop said, "If you think it right to wear them at all, use them *always*". I, of course, replied that I should be too thankful to do so on the authority of the Bishop, and there has never been a "Mass without vestments" at S. Mary's from that day to this. The people were quite satisfied to accept what Bishop Merriman thought to be right.

At the same time the Bishop himself never used the Eastward position at the altar, and he combined, curiously enough, the position of a Vice-President of the E.C.U. with that of being also a Vice-President of the Bible Society. He hated Erastianism, and joined the E.C.U. because it stood for the spiritual independence of the Church. He was firmly convinced that the Bishops of England were unjust to the Ritualists, though anything but a Ritualist himself. He was very angry indeed with Archbishop Tait and the Bishops who were responsible for the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874. He looked on it as a piece of naked Erastianism and an act of secular usurpation of the spiritual rights of the Church by Parliament.

One day in 1874 I was walking with him to the native church of S. Philip in Grahamstown, where he was ordaining two Kafir Deacons. I was acting as his Chaplain, and I saw he was much perturbed. At length he said, "I look upon the passing of the P.W.R. Act as the worst blow that has fallen upon the Church since the Revolution of 1688. The Bishops of England have surrendered their croziers

into the hands of Lord Penzance." Some years afterwards the Bishop used nearly the same words in a speech that he made at the Croydon Church Congress, of which Archbishop Tait was the President. Of course, the Catholic clergy and laity cheered and applauded Bishop Merriman, and Archbishop Tait was amazed and perplexed. His answer to the Bishop's allegations was unusually feeble, even from the Whig-Erastian standpoint.

### Church Progress in Port Elizabeth.

My work at Port Elizabeth was varied and interesting. There were, until I built S. Peter's, three Anglican churches in the town. S. Paul's was under a devout Evangelical, whose Churchmanship advanced with his closing years. When, after his death in 1893, I unveiled the bust set up by his people to the "memory of the Rev. S. Brook," it made one realise how faithful his life work had been.

Holy Trinity Church was built in 1856 by persons who objected to the strong Churchmanship of Mr. Fowle, my penultimate predecessor. It was out of touch with the diocese, and in the hands of a Broad Churchman, although it ultimately fell into other hands, and united itself legally with the diocese in 1890.

S. Mary's had a history. Its foundation-stone was laid in 1825, and the parish grew with the growth of the town, which, in 1913, became a "city" by civil decree. From S. Mary's sprung by degrees all the church extension in Port Elizabeth. There was a dignified Roman Catholic Pro-Cathedral and also places of worship of nearly every English religious body. There were two Malay Mosques, and in after years, a Hindu Temple.

S. Mary's supported a Kafir Mission, which has grown in importance of late years, as there is a Kafir population of about 10,000. I began at once to take a keen interest in

this native mission, and learnt to read the service in Kafir. S. Mary's also began a mission to the coloured population, which developed into the self-supporting church of S. Philip under a priest of its own. The coloured people built the church and paid for it themselves. What work has been possible amongst the Malay Mahometans, the Indians, and the Chinese has centred in S. Philip's.

My early days at S. Mary's were full of hard and most encouraging work, in which I was warmly and constantly supported by the sympathy and wise counsel of Bishop Merriman.

### Sir Charles Warren at S. Mary's.

Sir Charles Warren's impressions of S. Mary's in 1876 are interesting. He landed at Port Elizabeth on Sunday, November 26th, 1876, and says: "Hearing the church bells going, I had just time to change my clothes and make for a new (!) plastered building of cruciform shape (this was old S. Mary's, dating from 1825); a very ugly church, but the service, conducted well, somewhat ornate. A good choir of six men and fourteen boys, and a decent organ. The minister had an excellent voice and led the whole service, including the singing. The Psalms and all responses were chanted. The boys sang well and rather loudly, but I should not have considered it different to any service at home: I should say it was a good deal above our average. A good sermon on the Second Coming; no Communion. I cannot say what an effect it had, this first joining in a service in church with our people grown up in a colony: what a bond it is between us!" ("On the Veld in the Seventies," by Sir C. Warren, p. 10).

This must have been Sir Charles Warren's first church service in South Africa on his first visit, when he surveyed the boundary line between the Orange Free State

and Griqualand West. He is right about the choir and organ. The service at S. Mary's always maintained a high standard. I cannot say as much about his personal reference to myself.

## CHAPTER III.

### DARK DAYS: THE KAFIR AND ZULU WARS AND THE FIRST ANNEXATION OF THE TRANSVAAL.

#### Native Wars. Sekukuni and the Transvaal.

The Langalibalele rebellion was the letting out of the waters of strife between natives and Europeans throughout South Africa. Early in 1876 the Baputi Chief Sekukuni sallied forth from his mountain stronghold near Lydenburg in the Transvaal in rebellion against the Republic. President Burgers collected a military force and attempted in vain to dislodge him from his mountains. The Boers detested Burgers and would not fight under the leadership of a heretic who wanted railways and education. Sir H. Barkly, as High Commissioner, saw the danger to South Africa of the forcible-feeble policy of the Transvaal and sent a strong protest to Burgers against it. The Zulu King Cetewayo was secretly egging on Sekukuni, who was known as "Cetewayo's dog," and the Governor of Natal feared a Zulu rising, which, in the absence of an adequate garrison, might have swept Natal from end to end with worse horrors than the Indian mutiny. The Transvaal Government was on the verge of bankruptcy. Sekukuni was defiant and unconquered. The Boers would not fight for the Republic or pay their taxes under the Burgers *régime*. In the beginning of 1877 Burgers told his people that England would step in and annex the Republic if they did not support his Government. The Zulu

peril threatened the flank of the Transvaalers, in addition to the rebellion within their own borders. The Boers themselves saw no solution but annexation to the Empire. The ripe fruit was ready to fall into our hands when a very curious thing happened. Sir Theophilus Shepstone had for many years directed the native policy of Natal. He was born in South Africa and had distinct political ambitions. He saw Lord Carnarvon in London and made a considerable impression on him. Lord Carnarvon gave him a secret commission empowering him "in emergency" to annex the Transvaal. Sir H. Barkly had just quitted office and Sir Bartle Frere arrived as his successor in April, 1877. I have never believed that Sir Bartle Frere had anything whatever to do with the hasty action of Sir T. Shepstone. There was naturally a sort of interregnum before Sir Bartle Frere assumed full control.

### Sir T. Shepstone Annexes the Transvaal.

On April 12th, Sir T. Shepstone, who was in Pretoria with an escort of twenty-five mounted police, hoisted the British flag and declared that the Transvaal Republic was annexed to the British Empire. When Sir Bartle Frere heard of this sudden *coup* he exclaimed, "What will they say in England?" All that was left for him to do was to make the best of a very bad job.

When Sir Rider Haggard, the well known author, visited South Africa recently, as a Member of the Dominions Commission, I met him and he reminded me that he had hoisted the British flag with his own hands, as secretary to Sir Theophilus Shepstone. We had some very interesting talk about the days of 1877, which are half forgotten by the younger generation of South Africans. Sir Rider Haggard was adjutant to the Pretoria Carabineers during the siege of 1881, and told me much of the bitterness and shame of

Gladstone's surrender after Majuba. He has enshrined the feelings of the Transvaal loyalists in the immortal pages of "Jess," a story that will live, not only for its literary power and spiritual analysis, but because it is the most true and vivid picture of the real inwardness of our national disgrace.

I have always been convinced that if Sir T. Shepstone had waited a few days longer the Transvaal Volksraad would of their own accord have asked him to annex the Republic. The position of Burgers and his Government was absolutely hopeless. He had no help from Paul Kruger or his vice-president. And Kruger applied for service under the British Government readily enough after the annexation. But Kruger and his party were exceedingly crafty. They acquiesced for the time being, but they saw that they had a ready-made grievance in the premature action of Sir T. Shepstone, which would appeal to Afrikander sentiment all over South Africa when the time came to exploit it. They carefully bided their time till credit was restored under the British flag and the recovered prosperity of the Transvaal enabled them to arm themselves. The incubus of Burgers was removed and Kruger carefully nursed his own increasing influence.

### His Action Premature.

His first step was to send delegates to England to protest against the annexation and to appeal as they passed down country to the sympathies of the Free Staters and the Dutch of the Cape Colony. They had a case, for the instructions to Sir T. Shepstone forbade him to annex "unless you shall be satisfied that the inhabitants thereof or a sufficient number of them, or the Legislature thereof desire to become our subjects". The Volksraad never asked for annexation, though they could not have avoided this step if Sir T. Shepstone had waited a little longer.

### Paul Kruger.

I was standing near the Port Elizabeth Railway Station one day in 1877, and I saw a rugged-looking old Boer in the usual "baatje" or short jacket. People were looking at him with some curiosity. I found that he was Paul Kruger, ex-Vice-President of the Transvaal, on his way to England to protest against the annexation. In 1895 I saw him again in the Presidency at Pretoria. *Quantum mutatus!* But that is another story.

Kruger had never travelled by train before his journey to Port Elizabeth. He asked how could the engine turn round without a "disselboom"? (*Anglicé*—the pole of an ox-wagon). He saw the sea for the first time, and asked, when a big cargo lighter came alongside the jetty, whether that was the ship to take him to England? Since those days he learnt many things. He coveted a port and a war navy for the Transvaal, and intersected his country with railways. He fell into the hands of astute Hollanders, like Leyds, in the after years, but every South African—Britain and Boer alike—admired the old man's personal courage and indomitable tenacity. He was shrewd, too, in his way. Two brothers quarrelled over their just inheritance to a Transvaal farm. They came to the President as arbitrator. He said to one brother, "*You* can make the dividing line across the farm". This was done on the plan. "Now," said Kruger to the other brother, "*You* can choose which portion you will have". When sites were given to various religious bodies by Kruger's Government, a full "erf" was given to the Presbyterians and Wesleyans and only half an "erf" to the Jews for their synagogue. A Jewish deputation went to complain to the President. They found him sitting with a Bible before him, open at the last chapter of Malachi. He said to the Jews, "Here is the whole Bible, Old Testament and New Testament. The Presbyterians believe in the

*whole* Bible. *You* only believe in the Old Testament half of it. Therefore those who believe in the *whole* get a *whole* 'erf' of land, and you who believe in the *half* get only a *half* 'erf'". And with that he dismissed the deputation who had obviously nothing to say in reply to Kruger's argument.

Kruger's mission to England in 1877 did not have any immediate effect.

### Anthony Trollope at Port Elizabeth.

In 1877 Anthony Trollope, one of the favourite mid-Victorian novelists, visited South Africa. He came through Port Elizabeth and stayed at the Club. He was a peppery old gentleman and stormed at his partner after losing a rubber at whist. "Why didn't you respond? I *called* for *trumps* twice." The guileless man replied, "Oh, Mr Trollope, I *never heard* you"! Tableau! Anyway he gave Port Elizabeth and its Club a good character. He says, "The town is built on a steep hill rising up from the sea, and is very neat. The Town Hall is a large, handsome building, putting its rival and elder sister, Capetown, quite to shame. The Library, Reading-room and Public Ball-room or Concert Hall were perfect. The place contains only 15,000 inhabitants, but has everything needed for instruction, civilisation and the general improvement of the human race. I need only say further of Port Elizabeth that there are churches, banks and institutions fit for a town ten times its size—and that its Club is a pattern Club for all Colonial towns." ("South Africa," by Anthony Trollope, p. 27.)

Trollope thought that it didn't matter how he dressed in South Africa. But he was severely criticised for dining out at Grahamstown without dress clothes. He makes a somewhat lame but elaborate explanation of his lack of dress clothes on p. 31 of his book. He wrote some very sensible things about the annexation of the Transvaal. Few people remember

him as an author.[1] But even now I find him less fatiguing than Thackeray, some of whose lesser works are a trial of twentieth-century patience.

### Russo-Turkish War of 1877.

The summer of 1877 was a period of anxiety and unrest in South Africa. The Russo-Turkish War gave full occupation to the Imperial Government and Sir Bartle Frere was left to his own devices. I am thankful that I took what ultimately proved to be the right line on the Russo-Turkish War. In 1877 I preached at S. Mary's a very definite sermon against Lord Beaconsfield's evil policy in upholding the Turk against Russia and the Christian populations of the Balkans. As Lord Salisbury afterwards said, "We put our money on the wrong horse," firstly in the Crimean War and afterwards in supporting the Turk in the Berlin Congress. When Greece and the Balkan States conquered Turkey in 1912-13, I preached the same sermon in S. Mary's with slight alterations. And in 1914, England and her allies are at war with the Turk, and the end of Ottoman rule over Christian people is the logical outcome.

Lord Carnarvon left the Tory Cabinet because he differed from their Near Eastern policy, and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, who succeeded him at the Colonial Office, was an opportunist who threw Sir Bartle Frere to the wolves in 1879, when the Zulu War had become unpopular.

### Sir Bartle Frere and Cape Frontier Troubles.

In September, Sir Bartle Frere thought he had better visit the frontier in person. He held a Levee in Port Elizabeth, which I attended in cassock, gown and hood, and after I had

[1] There has lately been a revival of interest in Trollope's stories, especially the Barchester series.

been presented Sir Bartle asked me to stand by him in the official circle during the remainder of the presentations. I afterwards drove with him in his carriage when he visited the various churches and schools in the town, and he was one of the most cultured and able men I ever met. I went with him for 72 miles in an open truck when he opened the railway to Alicedale. He had a wonderful knowledge of South African questions, and I never forgot that journey. He made me an enthusiastic admirer of his policy and methods. Notwithstanding the danger, he went into the heart of the territory of Kreli to persuade the Chief to check his followers. He had a small escort and only just escaped disaster. I knew the officer commanding the escort, a blunt Colonial soldier. Sir Bartle said, "Well, we have got through without disaster!" "Yes, Sir," replied the officer, "but we were within *a sheet of paper* of it for all that!" Sir Bartle was too late: on September 27th, Kreli's Gealekas attacked the Fingoes in force at Idutywa in the Transkei. The Frontier Police with a field gun defended the Fingoes, but lost an officer and abandoned the gun.

Kreli, the Paramount Chief of Kaffraria, and Sandilli, the Chief of the powerful Gaika Tribe on the Cape frontier, found that their young men had forgotten the lessons of former Kafir wars and wanted to fight. Many of them had worked at the Diamond Fields and had bought arms with their wages. A gun was easy to buy, and the prohibition of the sale of arms and ammunition was easy to evade. The Fingoes of the Transkei were prospering and their Kafir rivals were jealous of them. The Kafirs could not forget that the Fingoes had been their slaves before Sir B. Durban released them from Kafir slavery after the war of 1835.

## The Kafir War of 1877.

I well remember the excitement in Port Elizabeth when the telegram announcing "War" was posted up. There had

been no war in the Cape Colony for a generation and our Colonial Volunteers were ready to prove their mettle. I had become Chaplain to the Colonial Forces in April, 1875, and when the Port Elizabeth Infantry Volunteers (Prince Alfred's Guard) were called out there was great local enthusiasm. I had consecrated their colours at an out-door parade some months before, and I had a Church Parade at S. Mary's before the Service Detachment embarked for the Transkei. The church was crowded to the doors, and the troops sailed for the front with the heartfelt sympathy of the people.

### Sir B. Frere Dismisses the Molteno Cabinet.

Sir Bartle Frere was a strong man, and he was faced by a Cabinet crisis as well as by a native rebellion. The Molteno Cabinet had organised no regular system of Colonial defence, and the Volunteer Forces had to equip themselves in a hurry. Mr. Merriman was on the Frontier, as "Acting War Minister," and he desired to rely upon the Colonial Forces alone. But Sir Bartle ordered up the Connaught Rangers from Capetown and Mr. Merriman desired to prevent their landing at East London, saying that the Ministry declined to employ Imperial troops, and refused to allow the supreme command to the General commanding the Queen's Forces. The situation was critical. The Colonial Forces were too few in number to oppose the well-armed and numerous enemy. A drastic remedy was necessary. Sir Bartle used the Crown Prerogative and dismissed his Ministry from office, though they had a majority in the House. He sent for Mr. Sprigg, the Leader of the Opposition, and told him to form a Ministry in a few months. He dissolved Parliament and appealed to the country. The result was a strong majority for the Governor's policy, which gave the new Ministry a long lease of power. The war dragged on for

several months, and it happened that one of its most decisive actions was fought by the Colonial troops alone. Kreli's forces were invading the Colony and attempting a junction with the powerful Gaika Tribe, who were waiting their opportunity to rebel. A small Colonial Force consisting of some Frontier Police, a half company of the Capetown Rifles, a company of Prince Alfred's Guard (Port Elizabeth) and two field guns (one of the Capetown and the other of the Grahamstown Artillery) were on the march near Ibeka in the Transkei, when they were surrounded by Kafirs, some of whom were mounted. The Kafirs opened fire from all sides and the little force fought bravely for some five hours, eventually repulsing the attack, with some loss. But they stopped Kreli's advance, and the Kafirs, who were fighting without much cover, lost heavily. The guns of the Volunteer Artillery saved the situation. Our force was commanded by Captain Bayly of the Capetown Rifles, who afterwards became Colonel of the Cape Mounted Rifles and Commandant General of the Cape Colonial Forces. He was a fine soldier, as he proved in subsequent wars.

### Umzintzani.

This smart action, fought at Umzintzani on December 2nd, 1877, is still commemorated in Port Elizabeth by Prince Alfred's Guard. We had a Commemorative Church Parade on its anniversary in 1894, when I preached from the same text as I had used at the farewell Parade in 1877. Lord Loch and Sir W. Hely-Hutchison were present and inspected the Parade after service.

The Kafir War of 1877 lasted till the early part of 1878. It consisted of a series of petty skirmishes and isolated actions by small columns of troops who had long marches and weary work day by day. Many men afterwards well known gained their first experience of South African warfare in this cam-

paign. Sir Evelyn Wood was there as Colonel of the 90th. General Carrington, then a Captain, raised and commanded a body of Irregulars called the Frontier Light Horse. Sir Charles Warren, then a Major, commanded the Diamond Fields Light Horse that has existed ever since, and did excellent service in after years in the Siege of Kimberley and the Relief of Mafeking in 1900. General Sir E. Y. Brabant, K.C.B., our only "Cape Colony" General in the Boer War of 1899, first saw Active Service in 1877 as Captain Brabant in command of a troop of Colonial Volunteers. He had previously served in the Cape Mounted Rifles, and Sir Bartle Frere specially recognised his services in the campaign. Early in 1878 Kreli made another attempt to join the revolted Gaikas, but was defeated at Quintana by the *Active's* Naval Brigade and a force of Imperial troops under Colonel Glyn. The Kafirs closely besieged a small party of the 24th Regiment at Fort Warwick on the Colonial Border, until they were relieved by Colonel Lambert of the Connaught Rangers. Fresh Colonial Forces were raised and sent to the Frontier. A smart body of Mounted Rifles raised from English and Dutch farmers in the Humansdorp district passed through Port Elizabeth on the way to the front. The Magistrate and I met them on horseback, and we rode through the street at the head of the troop. We both addressed them and I felt bound to remind them, as Chaplain to the Forces, "that though war could not be made with rosewater, our troops must not forget that they were British citizens and Christian men". I felt bound to say this, because Colonists were getting very angry at the Kafir custom of killing prisoners and giving no quarter. The cowardly murder of Mr. Tainton, the special Magistrate for Natives at King Williamstown, and his brother, by rebel Kafirs, had exasperated people very much, as it was not an act of open warfare.

### Death of Sandilli and End of the War.

But our troops behaved excellently and maintained the honour of the Flag untarnished. The death of Sandilli, the rebel Gaika Chief, brought the war to an end, and the deportation of the Gaikas across the Kei River was followed by the colonisation of their territory. The flourishing frontier town of Cathcart, with its surrounding belt of prosperous farmers, marks the former site of the Gaika Location. The Gaikas have prospered in the new lands across the Kei, where Sir Bartle Frere placed them, and have never since given any trouble. They elect their members who represent them in the Native Parliament, or Council, that sits at Umtata, and have become a peaceful and law-abiding people.

### Sir John Molteno.

I feel bound to notice here the bitter attack upon Sir Bartle Frere which was published in the "Life of Sir John Molteno". It is natural, I suppose, to expect that the son of the late Premier of the Cape would make the best of his father's case with regard to the incident of his summary dismissal from office. The "Saturday Review" passed a very severe verdict upon the book. I content myself with saying that the General Election which took place after the dismissal of the Molteno Cabinet was the most complete vote of confidence which Sir Bartle's policy could have received in South Africa. It was felt that he had taken the only course possible under the circumstances.

I met Sir John Molteno once. He had the true interests of the Colony at heart so far as he knew them. But it was not likely that a Western Province man could grasp the problems of the Frontier. He knew little of Native wars, and his ignorance was veiled by his obstinacy. He was autocratic, but he met his match in Sir Bartle Frere.

### Sir Gordon Sprigg Premier for the First Time.

Soon after the close of the war Port Elizabeth entertained Mr. Gordon Sprigg, the new Premier, at a public banquet. I had to speak, and after dealing with the obvious fact that the clergy "though not politicians were identified with the country as citizens," I said that "the Native policy which the Premier had so lucidly set forth, was a matter of the deepest interest to us both as clergy and as citizens. The Premier spoke of past mistakes in dealing with the Natives, and we must not forget the Colonist's side of the question. Who first evoked hostility between Colonist and missionary? Good men in England, legislating for the Frontier from their own firesides, and settling the Native question after the war of 1835 by the light of an igornant and spurious philanthropy. Our first object must be to do away with Colonial prejudice against Mission work, and by a sensible treatment of the Native question, enlist the sympathy of the people, and make the Christianising and civilising of the Native a Colonist's question. Our Missions must not be exotics, supported by money from England. We Colonists must do the work and bring our Christianity to bear upon the Natives by the light of an Englishman's sound practical common sense. Our Native difficulty may then vanish, and we may look forward to a bright future for the Native races, based upon their permanent Christianity and civilisation."

These words of mine were very kindly received by the large and representative gathering of citizens to whom they were spoken. People were inclined to be bitter on the Native question just at that time. The war had been costly, and valuable lives had been lost. I said as much as the people could bear, and to-day I hold by what I then said. Much has been done in the last thirty years to influence Colonial opinion in favour of Missions.

### Lord Milner's Commission on Native Affairs in 1905.

Lord Milner's Commission on Native Affairs reported most favourably on Missions to the Natives in 1905. The Commissioners did not represent missionary or educational interests. They were Dutch as well as British. The Report says: "The Commission is of opinion that hope for the elevation of the Native races must depend mainly on their acceptance of Christian faith and morals. It is true that the conduct of many converts is not all that could be desired, but nevertheless the weight of evidence is in favour of the improved morality of the Christian section of the population and to the effect that there appears to be in the Native mind no inherent incapacity to apprehend the truths of Christian teaching, or to adopt Christian morals as a standard."

A Commission of Magistrates and representatives of Dutch and British farmers and professional men would not have reported in this favourable way of Missionary effort in 1878, when I made my speech quoted above. But it is a far cry from 1878 to 1905, and Colonial laymen have altered their standpoint on the question of Missions.

The very best speech on Native Missions in the Provincial Synod of 1898 was made by Mr. Tracy, a Johannesburg layman, who had contributed largely to the Missions to the Native miners on the Rand. The Dutch Reformed Synod has been keen on Missions since the war, and it now supports 100 Missionaries to the Natives. It has extended its work to Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia.

### Sir Gordon Sprigg on South African Union.

To return to 1878. The new Premier made a very remarkable speech to his Frontier constituents and closed it by saying: "If we work harmoniously with the Imperial Government instead of setting up our backs against it, and

endeavour to draw together and strengthen the different parts of the Empire, we may hope to have something grander and brighter to look forward to; something more than what are comparatively the small interests of this Colony; that we shall belong to a greater nation and have wider interests and be able to divest ourselves of the localisms and petty jealousies which have interfered so much with the course of legislation and the progress of the country. I see the future before me. I look forward hopefully to the time when we shall inaugurate a great South African Dominion as a glorious and strengthening part of the British Empire."

Mr. Gordon Sprigg, in 1878, voiced the true ideal of a Union of South Africa under the British Flag. We none of us realised in those days that the vision of a United South Africa could dimly be discerned through the mist of blood and tears, the sorrows and sufferings of the great war from 1899 to 1902.

The Right Hon. Sir Gordon Sprigg, P.C., was Premier of the Colony for the fourth time in 1900. He was a worn-out old man, battered and scarred with years of political strife. He was always loyal to the ideal of a United South Africa under the British Flag.

He wrote to me when he was Prime Minister in 1897 about an article I had published advocating a contribution by the Cape Parliament to the Navy. He said "that this question of a naval contribution was the true test of English Imperial supremacy in South Africa. Minor differences must be disregarded, as you say. A government cannot be carried on upon abstract principles under the English Constitution. What I want to know of a man is whether he is sound on the vital question of the Queen v. Republicanism. If I am satisfied on that point, I can make allowances on side issues. All I ask—and I am sure I shall not appeal in vain to you—is that I may be regarded as a steadfast upholder of the English Constitution."

Mr. Rhodes always upheld Sir Gordon Sprigg's loyalty in the midst of his occasional opportunism. He ultimately carried out his project of a naval contribution. The cruiser *Good Hope* was the gift of the Cape Colony to the Navy, which was given on his proposal. She brought Mr. Chamberlain to South Africa in 1903. I lunched on board while she lay at anchor in our harbour. She was the Flagship of the ill-fated Admiral Cradock when he engaged Von Spee's powerful squadron off the coast of Chile in November, 1914. She was sunk, with the Admiral and all hands, and the *Monmouth* was lost in the same action. There were no survivors from either ship, as the Germans decline to save life in a naval action. When we destroyed, in the Battle of the Falkland Islands, this same German squadron that had defeated Admiral Cradock, we saved as many lives as we could.[1]

Sir Gordon Sprigg grew gradually to imagine that he was indispensable. "What will become of South Africa if I resign?" he once asked Rhodes in a political crisis. Rhodes gravely replied, "There is still left the Almighty". Sir Gordon received the rebuke in silence. It is a strange instance of the irony of political life that the veteran Sir Gordon recorded the *sole* vote against South African Union in the Cape Parliament in 1910. He was politically extinct and his mental powers had decayed. I saw him not many months before his death. He was a pathetic figure, and talked politics as if he was still a power in the land.

All through the summer of 1878 the Zulu war cloud was menacing Natal and the Transvaal. The annexation had saved the Boers from an immediate attack by Cetewayo. Sir T. Shepstone's administration of the Transvaal was proving a terrible failure. At annexation the Boers had been promised two things—a Legislature and the building of

[1] The later evidence on this subject tends to exonerate Von Spee completely. It must be remembered that this evidence was not to hand in the Archdeacon's lifetime.

the Delagoa Bay Railway. Neither pledge was fulfilled owing to the refusal of the Colonial Office in London to listen to Sir Bartle Frere's advice.

### Blunders of British Rule in the Transvaal.

The story of British administration in the Transvaal after the annexation of 1877 is a series of miserable blunderings and tactless inepitudes, which Sir Bartle Frere saw and protested against but was powerless to remedy. He visited the Transvaal and won the confidence of the Boers. Had he had a free hand the Transvaal would have been content to remain under the British Flag. An old Boer whose two sons had been fighting against us in 1881, told me this himself after Majuba. He said to me, "If Frere had been left to deal with us and we had not been in the hands of soldiers like Lanyon and Wolseley, we should have been content. We could *trust* Frere"! *Sunt lacrimae rerum.*

### The Zulu Trouble.

A Boundary Commission which dealt with some territory in dispute between the Transvaal and Cetewayo decided in favour of the Zulus. Sir Bartle Frere called it "an unjust verdict," but nothing was done to reverse it, and the Boers were naturally irritated against British rule. The Zulu king was encouraged to further defiance. In 1876 he had defied with impunity the remonstrance of Sir H. Bulwer, the Governor of Natal, against his murdering a number of Zulu girls who had married without his permission.

### Defiance of Cetewayo.

He broke his promise to Sir T. Shepstone to refrain from these outrages and replied to Sir H. Bulwer with savage

insolence. He sent a message to say, "I do kill. Why do the white people start at nothing? I have not yet begun. I have yet to kill; it is the custom of my nation, and I shall not depart from it. Why does the Governor of Natal speak to me about his laws? I shall not agree to any laws or rules from Natal, and I am Governor here." To the humane gentlemen of the Aborigines Protection Society, Cetewayo's defiance appeared as an assertion of independence, and his capricious lust for slaying his subjects a mere assertion of his right to inflict capital punishment. But those who know the peaceful Zululand of to-day, some thirty years after Sir Bartle's policy had freed the Zulus from the blood-stained tyranny of their savage king, can realise how the Zulus have learnt to value the orderly government of the "Pax Britannica". Cetewayo's defiance of Sir H. Bulwer was safe enough from his point of view. He was well informed of our weakness and knew that his 40,000 disciplined troops could capture Maritzburg in a few days and ravage the whole Colony of Natal. He was more defiant in 1878 than he had been in 1876. He had realised the effects of his astute wire-pulling in the Native wars stirred up by his emissaries. The success of his "dog," Sekukuni, and the Gaika and Gealeka Wars on the Cape Frontier increased his arrogance. An old Gealeka warrior said to his Magistrate, after the war of 1877, "Yes, you have beaten us, but there" (pointing eastwards) "are the Zulu warriors! Can you beat them? They say not. Go and try. Beat *them*, and we shall be quiet enough."

### Sir B. Frere Visits Natal.

Lord Carnarvon still pursued his peaceful dream of a South African Federation and thought that Sir Bartle Frere could diplomatise the Zulu menace into thin air. But Sir Bartle knew better. He went to Natal to see for himself.

He soon realised the truth that Natal was at the mercy of Cetewayo's army, and that there could be no lasting peace in South Africa until that army was disbanded and the Zulu tyranny ended once for all.

### Dr. Colenso Champions Cetewayo.

Dr. Colenso, the deposed Bishop of Natal, still resided in that Colony and became the self-constituted champion of Cetewayo. His chief pleasure seems to have been to pose as an "Athanasius contra mundum" on the *wrong* side of theology, politics and everything else. He had that strange sort of mind that imagines an opinion to be right if only it is sufficiently isolated and abnormal. When the Archbishop of Canterbury and the English Bishops called upon him to resign, his practical response was, "*You* are all wrong, and I only am in the right". The fact of his being the only white man of any position in Natal to champion Cetewayo was of infinite satisfaction to him. He tried to raise a pro-Zulu party in England, through the agency of the Aborigines Protection Society, to oppose and ruin Sir Bartle Frere.

### Mr. Waller's Opinion.

The Rev. Horace Waller, of the Universities' Mission, the companion of Bishop Mackenzie, the "Martyr of the Zambesi," wrote as follows to Sir Bartle Frere: "Colenso and Chesson (Sec. of Aborigines Protection Society) are the greatest burdens under which South Africa labours. When the whole history of the troubles of Africa comes to be written, Colenso and Chesson ought to be credited with the loss of thousands of lives and millions of money." I have always agreed with Mr. Waller, although I have always been the firm friend of our Native races. I have had

gratitude, love and trust from the Native clergy and converts of our South African Missions and specially from the Church Order of Ethiopia, with which I have been closely linked from its foundation in 1900.

## Khama's Rule.

The ending of Cetewayo's tyranny in 1879 was just as necessary as the ending of Lobengula's tyranny in Matabeleland some fifteen years afterwards, and the thoughtful and educated Natives see the necessity of this policy as clearly as I do. The Great Native Chief Khama has ruled his people undisturbed by all the wars and political turmoils of South Africa for the last twenty-five years. The reason is that Khama became a sincere Christian, and forced his people to conform to Christian ideas of peace and justice. The national prosperity of his people has increased in a very marked degree. He is by no means the mere subordinate of the High Commissioner of South Africa. He rules by his own independent judgment. A South African Native has powers of insight and organisation. He only wants putting on the right track. It is not too much to say that the civilisation and development of South Africa to-day, both for Natives and the two great European races, would have been *impossible* if the military despotisms of Cetewayo and Lobengula had not been ended.

## The "Daily News" Attacks Sir B. Frere.

In my defence of Sir Bartle Frere I am not writing from memory or without an accurate knowledge of facts. I was the South African Correspondent of the "Daily News" during the 1877-78 war. I ceased to act for the paper only because it began the Radical attack on Sir Bartle Frere. I believe I remonstrated with the Editor in a plain-spoken

letter. But I found out that South African politics were cleaner than English political methods. I found out that the chains of party bound English newspapers to ignore facts and forget truth and justice if truth and justice conflicted with party interests. Two South African newspapers to some extent followed suit; but in a smaller country like ours there was very little Press anonymity. "So-and-so wrote that article. We know his line. It doesn't amount to much." If the English Press was forced to append the certified signature of all its leader writers to their articles it would be better for the Empire.

### The English Press and the People.

But the Press in the twentieth century has ceased to influence people as it used to do. It is "Americanised". It has reverted to its original type. It is once more a "News Letter" without any opinions of its own which count. It is as powerless as the Imperial Parliament as a factor in forming and guiding public opinion. I may be wrong, because I have lived over forty years out of England and view matters through South African spectacles. But I have an idea that I am not far off the mark.

### Sir B. Frere and English Party Politics.

When Lord Carnarvon was succeeded by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach at the Colonial Office, South African affairs were handled exclusively from a party point of view. It was extremely awkward for Lord Beaconsfield's Government to be compelled to face an unpopular war in South Africa when they had so many other questions on hand both foreign and domestic. So Sir M. Hicks-Beach trimmed and temporised on the Zulu question and in course of time ignored his own dispatches to Sir Bartle Frere when they proved inconvenient

to him. Knowing as he did that the Imperial Government might fail him, Sir Bartle thought only of his plain duty as responsible for the safety of South Africa.

### Sir B. Frere's Ultimatum to Cetewayo.

He knew that the Zulu War was inevitable. He sent an ultimatum to Cetewayo on December 11th, 1878, demanding reparation for certain specified outrages on the Natal Border, and also demanding the reform of Cetewayo's existing military system, and the abolition of his rule that none of his young soldiers could receive permission to marry till they had washed their spears in the blood of an emeny. Imagine the peril of 40,000 young men enrolled for fighting, trained to war, and naturally eager to marry. Their enforced celibacy until they had slain a foe in battle made Cetewayo's standing army a continual menace to his neighbours.

Recurrent wars at short intervals were an absolute necessity to an army enrolled under such savage conditions. We had stopped Cetewayo's intended attack on the Transvaal by annexing it. His army meant to fight some enemy as soon as possible. Cetewayo himself could not hold them back. Who was there for them to fight? It was obvious that Natal and the British must be their objective. It was the logical result of Cetewayo's policy of stirring up wars and rebellions on the Cape Frontier for the last two years. Lord Chelmsford had 5,500 Imperial troops in Natal, and the Natal Carabineers (a smart local Volunteer regiment) with other Colonial forces and Native levies. Some of the officers had served with him in the previous Kafir campaign, and his staff, with most of the officers, held the Zulus in utter contempt. A member of the Natal Legislative Council told Sir Bartle that "200 Imperial troops could march through Zululand, from one end to the other". If a Natal Colonist, who ought to have known better, could make such an insane statement what wonder if

Imperial officers looked on the Zulu Campaign as a mere military picnic?

### Kruger's Advice to Lord Chelmsford.

But Sir Bartle showed none of this foolhardy confidence. Kruger and Joubert (afterwards Commandant-General of the Transvaal) were in Maritzburg at this time, on their way back from England after their mission of protest against the annexation. Sir Bartle asked them to meet Lord Chelmsford and give him their advice about fighting the Zulus. They told him to defend his camp every evening by "laagering" his wagons, and impressed upon him the necessity of careful scouting. Kruger said, "Ask what precautions the General has taken that his orders should be carried out *every* evening, because if they are disobeyed *one* evening it will be *fatal*". Oom Paul knew what he was about. He wished to see the Zulu power crushed before he hoisted the Republican Flag of Independence. He dared not act till the British had pulled the Zulu chestnuts out of the fire for him. But his advice was sound enough even if it was not wholly disinterested. One afternoon the "laager" was not formed. The result was Isandhlwana.

### Our Forces Enter Zululand.

The ultimatum expired on January 1st, 1879, and on the 10th Lord Chelmsford's force entered Zululand. Dr. Colenso had written to the Colonial Secretary of Natal that he had heard from the natives that Cetewayo was about to march in force upon Maritzburg. So Lord Chelmsford's columns invaded Zululand in three directions, the main body advancing by Rorke's Drift under the General's personal command.

### Isandlwhana.

I shall never forget Friday, January 24th, as long as I live, when the evil tidings of Isandhlwana were flashed over the length and breadth of South Africa. In those days I was my own Precentor and had been conducting our usual Friday evening choir-practice in S. Mary's. After practice I went over to the Public Library, where the war telegrams were posted, and I saw the terrible news of Wednesday, January 22nd. The news seemed past belief. The General had made a personal *reconnaissance* in force and left the camp in charge of Colonel Pulleine of the 24th Regiment, The wagons were not "laagered". The Zulus appeared in force and drove in the advanced pickets. Two guns of the Royal Artillery ploughed lanes of dead and dying in the serried masses of the charging Zulus, until the gunners were overwhelmed with the black resistless surge of the enemy, and every officer and gunner died at his post. The Natal Carabineers charged gallantly, and died with their faces towards the foe. The 24th formed into isolated company squares and fought till every cartridge was spent, selling their lives dearly with the bayonet till they were overwhelmed by the Zulu spears. Their bodies were found grouped as they fell. There was gross mismanagement but no panic on that fatal day. Lieutenants Melville and Coghill rode out with the Colours of the regiment and gave their lives to save them. A few well-mounted men followed them and cut their way through the ranks of the Zulus. No one escaped from that fatal field alive who did not ride out about mid-day. But, as the Zulus tell us, the men who were over-whelmed fought gallantly for several hours, and the last man fled to a cave with a heap of his dead comrades' cartridges and was not slain till about five o'clock in the afternoon.

### Story of a Zulu Eye-Witness.

Many years afterwards I had a most interesting talk with a Zulu who fought against us at Isandhlwana. He had been for twenty years the faithful house servant of two friends of mine, who valued him as he deserved to be valued. He told me, with kindling eye and much animation, how the "horns" of the Zulu army encompassed the British troops on that fatal day. He told me of the overwhelming Zulu charge on the two Royal Artillery field guns, when every gunner was "assegaied" after firing one or two rounds. He said that the broad stabbing "assegai" was the true weapon of the Zulu soldier. "Guns no good for Zulu," he said; "take too long loading". He spoke of the severe losses of the Zulus, and his own "lucky" escape. And he told me how the Zulus flung their lighter "assegais" at the troops, who were rallied by their officers in companies, until the time came for the Zulus to charge "home" with their broad bladed "assegais" to meet the bayonets of the British in hand to hand conflict. He saw the stand among the rocks made by the last living British soldier, who fired off all his cartridges, fixed his bayonet, and died fighting, as a brave man should. My Zulu friend ended his story with a strong assertion of his love for the English. "I was Zulu soldier then, sir," he said; "I did only what my Chief told me to do." Certainly, the Zulus of to-day are peaceable and loyal men. The Zulu rebellion of 1906 was the result of dangerous intermeddling from England on the part of Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman's Government, which turned an affair of police into a rebellion which would have had serious consequences had not the Colonial troops dealt promptly with the outbreak.

### Rorke's Drift.

To return to the story of the battle. When Lord Chelmsford and his troops returned to their camp that night the

Zulu army had drawn off. The men with Lord Chelmsford never forgot the sight to their dying day. The whole camp was devastated and destroyed and the plain was white with the stripped bodies of the slain. Fortunately for Lord Chelmsford and the remnant of his force, the victorious Zulus had been beaten off in their attack on Rorke's Drift, so that the retreat into Natal was secured. The heroism of the small garrison at Rorke's Drift is one of the most glorious memories of the British Army. Chard and Bromhead, the two young officers in command, deservedly won the Victoria Cross. Their defences were hastily extemporised with mealie bags and ammunition boxes. The Zulus, flushed with victory, surrounded the little garrison and assaulted their frail defences again and again. They rushed so close up as to seize the barrels of the men's rifles, but were repelled again and again, till they at length drew off, leaving their dead behind them. There were a few men in a small building used as a hospital too ill to be moved. The Zulus fired the hospital, and the handful of heroes spared enough from the defences to carry their comrades into safety.

### Padre Smith.

De Neuville's famous picture of Rorke's Drift shows a stalwart black-bearded "padre" serving out cartridges to the men in the thick of the attack. This was the Rev. G. Smith, one of Bishop Macrorie's clergy, who was temporarily attached as "Acting Chaplain" to the troops. For his gallant coolness on that day he received a commission as Chaplain in the Army and served with distinction for many years afterwards.

### Cape Forces Mobilised.

South Africa thrilled with the terrible news of Isandlwhana. A universal Native rising was feared. There was no cable to

England, and no reinforcements could be looked for. We trusted to the firm hand and cool head of Sir Bartle Frere and determined to defend ourselves. He calmed the panic-stricken people of Maritzburg and encouraged Lord Chelmsford and his officers, who had exchanged undue self-confidence for undue despondency. The Cape Ministry mobilised our Volunteers on the Saturday after Isandhlwana. Colonel Cochrane, the Commandant of Volunteers, was in Port Elizabeth for inspection when the news came. I went to see him on the Saturday morning, and found that he knew nothing about the disaster. I told him the story of the fatal telegram of Friday, and he broke down in a paroxysm of grief at the news. He was an elderly man who had never seen service, but he pulled himself together when the Mobilisation Order came. I arranged a church parade for the following day, and I preached on our common peril and the duty of facing it like men. The Port Elizabeth merchants and storekeepers helped the Government cheerfully by letting their employees leave for the Frontier, and on the Monday a strong detachment of Prince Alfred's Guard left to take the place of the Imperial garrison at King Williamstown, so that they could leave at once for Natal. Other levies were raised in Natal and the Cape Colony and a few Transvaal Dutchmen followed brave old Piet Uys into the field against the common foe.

### Lord Wolseley Supersedes Sir B. Frere.

The Zulus did not follow up their success, for they lost very heavily both at Isandhlwana and Rorke's Drift. Sir Evelyn Wood's small force was intact and soon won the battle of Kambula. The beleaguered garrison of Eshowe was relieved and things looked more hopeful. But just at this crisis Lord Wolseley (then Sir Garnet) was ordered out to supersede Lord Chelmsford, and, to the amazed indignation

of every true South African Colonist, to supplant Sir Bartle Frere as High Commissioner of Natal and the Transvaal. Although it is so many years ago, my blood boils to think of the flagrant injustice of Lord Beaconsfield's Government. Here was a man with an unbroken record of forty-five years' true and noble service for his country, in India and South Africa, thrown to the wolves of the ignorant Radical Press, and made a scapegoat for the political exigencies of the Government just because the Zulu War was unpopular and because of the military disaster at Isandhlwana, which came from an over-confidence which he did his best to avert.

### The "Daily News" Attacks Sir B. Frere.

The "Daily News" said that Sir Bartle "had allied himself with the worst passions and sinister motives of the Colonists—their desire for conquest and spoil, for the subjugation of the Zulus, with a view to annexing their territory, and their disposition to sponge on the Empire to prosecute their own gain at the cost of the Mother Country".

It is difficult to characterise as they deserve these foul slanders upon the High Commissioner, so justly beloved and trusted by the Colonists. We felt the wickedness of the political campaign of lies against him deeply. We felt that a Conservative Government was just as guilty as a Radical Government could be, in making South African affairs a shuttlecock for English party politics, concerning the inner mechanism of which most of us knew nothing and cared less. Our loyalty was to the Throne and to the flag. From that day to this South Africans have regarded the *soi-disant* Imperial Parliament and its parties with deep-rooted suspicion as an unwieldy and untrustworthy instrument of Empire, fitted only for English and Scottish local affairs. And certainly unfit to deal with Irish, Indian and Colonial questions. Many Colonists, like myself, are Tory Home Rulers, utterly out of sympathy with both English parties.

### Sir B. Frere Censured by Colonial Secretary.

It is to the credit of Lord Beaconsfield that he desired to support Sir Bartle Frere. Lord Carnarvon was out of the Cabinet and made a bold speech in his defence in the House of Lords, in which he very rightly accused Sir M. Hicks-Beach of supporting him when things were going well but deserting him after Isandhlwana. Sir M. Hicks-Beach went back upon himself so far as to send a dispatch censuring Sir Bartle for his Zulu policy, which was the saving of South Africa. Most men of his age, worn out as he was with unceasing anxieties, would have resigned at once. But he was "a stainless man and selfless gentleman". He would not desert the South Africans, who had trusted and supported him. He held on bravely *pro Deo et patria.*

### Sir B. Frere on the Transvaal Boers.

At the very moment that he was superseded by Wolseley he was conducting most delicate negotiations with the disaffected Transvaal Boers. They had begun to trust him, when all the threads, so patiently woven, were snapped by Wolseley, who never had the courtesy to ask Sir Bartle Frere to explain to him the inner condition of things in the Transvaal. Verily Sir M. Hicks-Beach sowed the wind in Wolseley's appointment and we reaped the whirlwind at Majuba!

It is worth while here to quote Sir Bartle Frere's opinion of the Transvaal Boers as expressed in a dispatch to Sir M. Hicks-Beach. He says: "They have many noble qualities and capabilities, and, if fairly treated, will, I believe, be subjects of whom Her Majesty may be proud. I am quite sure that no people could have done what the Trek-Boers have done during the past thirty years without having the materials of a great people among them; but they have hitherto had scant justice done them by either friends or

detractors." This is a true and fair estimate. It was the view of Cecil Rhodes, and, after forty-two years of South Africa, I may say that it is my view and that it is shared by every thoughtful British South African.

### Agitation Against Sir B. Frere.

It is my unalterable conviction that if Sir Bartle Frere had not been supplanted in his management of Transvaal affairs in 1879 we should have had no Majuba and consequently no Boer War, which was the *direct outcome* of Majuba. He had not only to face the tacit opposition of Sir Garnet Wolseley, but the open and sometimes scurrilous abuse of the "Natal Witness," the "Cape Argus" and the faction led by Dr. Colenso and Mr. Merriman. The gradually increasing bitterness of the rising Dutch Afrikander Party in the Cape Colony was sedulously fomented by the Transvaal agitators, who made some use of a notorious Fenian conspirator named Aylward, who ultimately, as I always believed, pushed them into open revolt, when the tactlessness of Lanyon, who succeeded Shepstone in the administration of the Transvaal, gave them an excuse at the end of 1880.

### Public Meetings in Support of Him.

But South Africa as a whole stood loyally by Sir Bartle Frere. Cape Town held a huge and enthusiastic public meeting in support of the policy of the High Commissioner. Town after town followed suit and the resolutions carried at these public meetings encouraged him to hold on. The Kimberley resolution was typical of the rest. It declared that "the people of this country knew that the Zulu War was unavoidable, and the time we hope is not far distant when the wisdom of Your Excellency's Native policy and action will be as fully recognised and appreciated by the

whole British nation as it is by the Colonists of South Africa". The hopes of Kimberley were unfulfilled. People put up a statue to Sir Bartle and buried him in S. Paul's Cathedral, but I still fear that the people of England do not yet know what the Empire owes to him.

### His Reception at Cape Town.

He had a wonderful reception at Cape Town on his return. I was present and the streets were filled with enthusiastic crowds who cheered themselves hoarse as Sir Bartle's carriage and escort passed down Adderley Street. I was hustled by the crowd against the Premier's carriage and I was able to exchange a few words of congratulation with him as I knew he felt the triumph of the day as much as I did. We did not know that even then the Home Government were denying Sir Bartle Frere the loyal support which he so thoroughly deserved.

### Lord Chelmsford Wins Ulundi and Ends the War.

It was satisfactory at all events that Wolseley did not finish the Zulu War. Lord Chelmsford won the final victory of Ulundi, which caused the speedy capture of Cetewayo and the end of active resistance on the part of the Zulus.

### The Wolseley Settlement of Zululand.

The Wolseley settlement of Zululand after the war was calamitous in its inception and results. The country was divided into thirteen districts, each under its own chief. The obvious result was the further destruction of the Zulus on the "Kilkenny cat" principle by provoking them to destroy one another. If Wolseley had consulted Sir Bartle Frere, or anyone who knew Zululand, he would not have adopted this evil and disastrous policy.

### Its Disastrous Character.

As a soldier Lord Wolseley has deserved well of his country; but as a statesman in South Africa—well—"the evil that men do lives after them". He ignored the experience and wisdom of Sir Bartle Frere so thoroughly that the Governor at the Cape was left to find out from the South African newspapers what policy was being pursued in the Transvaal and Zululand.

### Samuel Plimsoll.

It was about this time that I had a singular experience of the incapacity of English politicians to understand our Native question. One day I was introduced to a very excitable old gentleman with a huge white umbrella, who landed to explore Port Elizabeth. He was the famous Samuel Plimsoll, M.P. for Derby, who denounced shipowners in the House of Commons as murderers for resisting his proposal for a "load-line" for the mercantile marine. He was right and he carried his point. "Plimsoll's Line" has saved many a ship from foundering at sea owing to overloading by unscrupulous owners. But I found him *vir strenuus* in other matters which he did not understand. He began to tackle me on the Native question, on which he knew less than nothing. He abused South African Colonists as vile tyrants and said they oppressed the Natives. I never heard a sane man talk so much utter nonsense as he did. He overwhelmed me with a flood of dictatorial dogmatism on our Native question, and the more I contradicted him the more vehement he got. I thought that, if this were a fair sample of the knowledge possessed by the average Member of Parliament, it would go badly with Sir Bartle Frere.

### Cetewayo a Prisoner of War.

I was right. Cetewayo was sent to Capetown as a prisoner of war, and Dr. Colenso and his still more

strenuous daughter, Miss Colenso, stirred up that well-intentioned nest of hornets, the Aborigines Protection Society, to agitate for the restoration of Cetewayo to Zululand. Miss Colenso survived to agitate just as mischievously for Cetewayo's son, Dinizulu, more than thirty years afterwards. The mischief done to Zululand in both cases was incalculable.

### Foolish Agitation for his Reinstatement.

Cetewayo went to London and was duly lionised under the ægis of ignorant and well-meaning faddists. I say "well-meaning" advisedly, for his English friends actually, though unintentionally, caused his death. They worried the Government into sending him back to Zululand as a *soi-disant* king in 1883, when his power was broken and his rule supplanted by the thirteen Chiefs of the Wolseley régime. A cynical historian in reviewing the circumstances might be tempted to hint that the Government yielded to the hysterical outcry of the philanthropists and deliberately sent Cetewayo to his doom in Zululand to get rid of him. But I acquit the Government of *malice prepense*. They were only utterly ignorant of the true condition of Zululand. There was no one to tell them the truth. The Gladstone Ministry had recalled Sir Bartle in 1880.

### The Inevitable Consequence.

Cetewayo gathered a band of followers and his return to Zululand was the signal for fierce internecine strife, which the Government, as represented by the British Resident, was powerless to control. After being defeated and hunted down by his Zulu foes, Cetewayo surrendered to the British Resident and died shortly afterwards, a sad object-lesson of the unconscious cruelty of ignorant philanthropists, who sent him back to face a position which

any well-informed Colonist would have told them was impossible.

### Sir B. Frere on Cetewayo.

Sir Bartle Frere said of Cetewayo, "If you can imagine an extremely shrewd, wily, sensual man with many of the habits and tastes of a very vicious childish lad who had never mixed with any but flatterers and inferiors and had hardly ever known what it was to be crossed in his will without taking ample vengeance, you will have as good an idea as I can give you of him. Long habit of uncontradicted command gives great dignity to his general manner, and takes in casual observers with the belief that he is a very superior being; but you will look in vain for kingly attributes as we understand them, apart from those associated with superior force and cunning." (Letter to Sir M. Hicks-Beach, October, 1879.)

### Sir J. Robinson on the Zulu Policy.

The final battle in this final Zulu Civil War cost Cetewayo's men 6000 slain, and the victors killed all his people, regardless of age or sex. And this was the direct consequence of the action of the Aborigines Protection Society. Sir John Robinson, the well-known Natal politician, wrote to Sir Bartle (just after Cetewayo's death), "How many Zulus have perished since Cetewayo's restoration it would be hard to estimate. One could weep to compare the Zululand of to-day with what it might have been now had your policy and plans had free development and fruition." What Sir Bartle advised in vain in 1879 was eventually carried out. The remnant of the Zulu nation, with such of its territory as had not been annexed by the Boers, was duly annexed to the Empire in 1887. Zululand is now part of Natal.

### Death of The Prince Imperial.

One of the most deplorable incidents of the Zulu War was the death of the gallant Prince Imperial. His body was found with eighteen assegai wounds, *all in front*, and his Zulu slayers said that he fought like a lion when he was deserted by the panic-stricken officer and men who ought to have fought side by side with him. He was a deeply religious, loyal and brave young man, and his memoirs are well written by one who knew him well. Here are some words of his dealing with the thought of the Heavenly cloud of witnesses and the Communion of Saints: "Grant that there may sink deeper and deeper into my mind the conviction that those who are gone are witnesses of my actions. My life shall then be worthy to be seen by them all. My innermost thoughts shall then be such as shall never cause me to blush."

South Africa deeply sympathised with the widowed Empress who came the year following his death to see the place where he died. Sir Evelyn Wood escorted her and she was gratified by the genuine and respectful sympathy of the South African people.

### Gladstone's Victory in 1880.

The swing of the pendulum in 1880 put Mr. Gladstone in power after the General Election. It sealed the doom of Sir Bartle Frere and ruined all immediate hopes of a peaceful and united South Africa. I was "up-country" on a visit when the news of the elections came. I shall never forget my depression and foreboding of imminent disaster. I knew that South Africa would suffer from the political exigencies of the party in power, and I wondered how long it would be before loyal Colonists would once more be embittered against the Mother Country by the evil dealings of so-called Imperial politicians.

### The Evil Consequences in South Africa.

I had not long to wait. Gladstone's Midlothian speeches stirred up the Transvaal disaffection into renewed activity. He spoke of coercing "the free citizens of a republic," and called the annexation "the invasion of a free people". And then, as Prime Minister, he tried in vain to put out the fire he had kindled by a dispatch to Kruger and Joubert saying that *the Queen cannot be advised to relinquish her Sovereignty over the Transvaal.*

### Recall of Sir B. Frere.

Mr. Gladstone cooled down in a similar way after his impassioned denunciation of the Zulu War, but his followers, notably Sir Wilfrid Lawson and Mr. Leonard Courtney, led ninety Members of Parliament to demand the recall of Sir Bartle Frere, because "it would greatly conduce to the *unity* of the Party and relieve many Members from the charge of *breaking* their *pledges* to their constituents". A more shamelessly cynical document was never penned. What did we South Africans care for the unity of a British Party or for the pledges given by ignorant Members of Parliament to their equally ignorant constituents? We desired the good of South Africa as a part of the Empire that had nothing to do with English Party quarrels. We knew that Sir Bartle Frere had served the Empire with a whole-hearted loyalty of service, and that he was the wisest and best guide and leader South Africa had ever known. And now he was to be recalled, without a thought of the ruin his recall would entail on South Africa, just because it suited Party exigencies in England. I can never think of the recall of Sir Bartle Frere without bitter shame that English politicians should have been so blind,

self-centred, and utterly mean, as those men proved themselves.

South Africa mourned his loss. I never remember public feeling being so stirred to its depths. One of the leading spirits of Dutch republicanism in the after days wrote to him saying, "We have lost confidence in a Government who could play with our welfare, and among the many injuries done us the greatest was to remove from among us such a ruler as Your Excellency was".

### Sir B. Frere at the Derby Church Congress.

And so he was forced to leave us. I saw him once again before his death, when he was on the platform of the large S.P.G. meeting at the Derby Church Congress of 1882. He gave an excellent address on Missions, and was followed by a person who filled me with wrath by ignorant abuse of South African Colonists in their dealings with Natives. I made a strong fighting speech in defence of my fellow-citizens of South Africa, and I appealed to Sir Bartle Frere to vindicate the truth of my words from his own South African experience. My mention of his great work in South Africa evoked a storm of cheers, and when he rose to corroborate my statements the cheering broke forth again. He was looking aged and worn, but the cheering made his face light up, and I was thankful that I had been given an opportunity to say what I did. It showed that some of his fellow-countrymen realised the scandalous treatment he had received from the Government and that justice could in time be done to his great name and his Imperial services. His last public appearance was in the cause of the Church. In January, 1884, he took the chair at the meeting of the Universities' Mission, to take leave of Bishop Smythies of Zanzibar. He spoke

with unusual vigour and earnestness. The next day his last illness began. He passed away on May 29th, 1884, and was laid to rest in S. Paul's Cathedral.

Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit,
Nulli flebilior quam mihi.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE JUDGMENT OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL IN THE GRAHAMSTOWN CATHEDRAL CASE: ITS PRELUDE AND POSTSCRIPT.

#### The South African Church Free from State Control.

*Cedant arma togae*, which being freely rendered as to the contents of this chapter, bids me quit the field of war and politics for the arena of ecclesiastical law. The Church of South Africa has had as stormy a history as South Africa itself, and this by no fault of the Church. Vital principles were at stake, veiled by lesser issues. Upon the weak and poverty-stricken Church in South Africa fell the burden of winning the freedom of the Anglican communion in the Colonies from the fetters of the Establishment. Even now the work is not fully accomplished in Australia, but the English Church in South Africa has done her part boldly and without flinching in the teeth of great and, as it sometimes seemed, overwhelming odds. We had to bear the burden of no fewer than three ecclesiastical cases which came before the Privy Council for decision. The doctrine and discipline of the Church were primarily concerned in the Long case and the Colenso case. The first case vindicated the right of an unestablished Church in a Colony to self-government and ecclesiastical "Home Rule". The Colenso case showed the world that the "Ecclesia Anglicana" was not the puppet of the State, and that a daughter Church of Canterbury could assert her independence of the usurped jurisdiction of the Privy Council as

an ecclesiastical Court of Appeal, by consecrating a Bishop (by her own inherent spiritual authority) to succeed Dr. Colenso, whom she had deposed by her own spiritual Court, after due trial. The fact that the secular Courts upheld Dr. Colenso and enabled him to retain his stipend was a real spiritual triumph for the South African Church. We did not care in the very least for the legal quibbles that enabled Dr. Colenso to enjoy an income of which the capital had been subscribed by Christian people who believed in the teaching of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer, which he had repudiated.

### Dr. Colenso's Strange Position.

His position would have been honourable if he had followed the example of Stopford Brooke, who left the Church of England when he found he could no longer honestly believe in the doctrine of the Creeds. But Dr. Colenso continued to hold a position and to use an income which had been raised by Church people when, from his own admissions, he no longer could teach the doctrines of the Prayer Book. The South African Court held an inexpugnable moral position in upholding its own spiritual authority against Dr. Colenso. We said, "The State says that our spiritual sentence is 'null and void' civilly. Never mind. Let Dr. Colenso take all the money and Church property from us. We will have nothing to do with him officially or spiritually. We consecrate and uphold Bishop Macrorie as his 'spiritually' lawful successor, and we leave the matter in God's hands."

### What the South African Church Stands For.

The South African Church has carried on for over sixty years the best spiritual traditions of the Caroline Divines, the Non-Jurors, and the Tractarians. We have always been

Catholic in our breadth of outlook. We have found room within our borders for all loyal Churchmen who are true to the teaching of the Prayer Book. We have no room for "Militant Protestants" and "Modernists". We have to convert Africa. We cannot allow a *divided* Gospel to be preached to the heathen, and we have no room for mutineers and cranks in the South African Church as a disciplined militant force against the vast powers of heathenism and Islam. We stand for the inherent spiritual independence of the unestablished portion of the English Church as against the Erastian consequences of the Tudor Reformation, which bind and cripple the Church of England. The very fact that in 1914 a strong committee has been appointed to suggest plans for readjusting the relations of Church and State in England shows that Church folk in England find the fetters galling which we in South Africa finally threw off in our first Provincial Synod in 1870.

### Dean Williams of Grahamstown.

One of the leading figures in that Synod was the brilliant and able Irishman, Dr. Williams, the Dean of Grahamstown. He had been appointed by Bishop Cotterill, and in this first Provincial Synod he took a very strong line on the side of the Spiritual independence of the South African Church. I had occasion to inspect carefully the Minutes of that Synod, because in after years he cynically repudiated all he had done there, and further, actually denied in public that he had supported a motion which the Synod Minutes proved that he had actually introduced. The Dean's ideals and standards of clerical life were those of some of his eloquent fellow-countrymen who left their native land to grace the pulpits of English proprietary chapels, which did not involve parochial routine and the daily responsibilities of the cure of souls.

### Election of Bishop Merriman.

Bishop Cotterill was translated to the See of Edinburgh in 1871, and an episcopal election under the newly-framed Canons of the Province took place in Grahamstown. Dean Williams presided, as the Canons direct, and scrupulously carried out the formalities of the Elective Assembly according to the South African Canons. This was a point carefully noted by lawyers in the after day when he repudiated the Canons and broke off his allegiance to his Bishop and the South African Church. It was naturally a disappointment to Dean Williams that the Diocese elected Archdeacon Merriman to the vacant See by a unanimous vote. And then trouble began. Bishop Merriman, to my certain knowledge, did his very best to work in harmony with Dean Williams, although their temperaments and ideals differed so widely. The Diocesan Synod of 1873 showed the Dean and the Cathedral parish in opposition not only to the Bishop but to the general feeling of the diocese, mainly on financial matters, since the Cathedral was not doing its duty in supporting diocesan finance.

### Dean Williams and the "Eastern Star".

The Dean at this time acquired a predominating control over the "Eastern Star," a Grahamstown paper that ultimately developed into the well-known Johannesburg daily, "The Star". He was a born journalist, and oft-times his pen was dipped in gall. He reproduced in a small Colonial city some of the most offensive personalities of modern society journalism, and he lashed indiscriminately the Bishop and any clergy or laity who supported him. Over forty years have passed since the troubles began. I was behind the scenes nearly the whole time and I can tell the story dispassionately as the only survivor of those who were actively concerned in it. I do not forget that the leading excuse which

Dean Williams put forth for disregarding the financial decisions of the Diocesan Synod was his scheme for rebuilding the Cathedral, and that his energy enabled him to complete the tower and spire.

### Dean Williams Rebels against the Constitution and Canons.

But his open rebellion against the Constitution and Canons of the South African Church, which he had helped to frame and which the supreme Court of the Cape Colony, as well as the Privy Council, held, as a matter of law and equity, that he had bound himself to obey, could not be condoned by the fact that he made a good beginning for the Cathedral which saw its nave completed in 1912.

His first overt act of rebellion was a *caveat* which he uttered in the Cathedral when he was ordered to give notice of the Second Provincial Synod of 1876.

### His Manifest Inconsistency.

He stated that he declined to be bound by any of its decisions which were not embodied in the laws of the Established Church of England. When Article I of the Constitution of the South African Church was moved in the Synod of 1870, the desire of the Provincial Synod was to stand as closely by the ancient laws and usages of the Church of England as was possible in the special circumstances of an unestablished Church in South Africa, which had to organise itself as a voluntary society of Christian people bound together upon a basis of consensual compact. The Synod therefore declared its allegiance to "the Doctrine, Sacraments and Discipline of Christ . . . according as the Church of England has set forth the same in its standards of Faith and Doctrine" . . . and further stated that it "*disclaims* for itself the right of altering any of the aforesaid Standards of

Faith and Doctrine". In 1870, Dean Williams was a violent advocate of the spiritual independence of the South African Church. He moved the *omission* of the "disclaiming" clause of Article I, and desired that the South African Church should be left *free* to alter the Doctrinal Standards of the Mother Church if it saw fit to do so. Of course, his motion was lost, because no Province of the Catholic Church is autocephalous, and we inherit, through the Church of England, our Faith "*affirmed by the undisputed General Councils*" (to quote our Constitution once more).

Dean Williams also moved to delete the words providing that any alterations in the services of the Church required by our *local* circumstances (e.g. Prayer for the Governor-General, etc.) "*shall be consistent with the spirit and teaching of the Book of Common Prayer*". He desired to "cut the painter" and break the spiritual unity which naturally subsists between the South African Church and the Mother Church of England. Naturally he was defeated in this proposal as well as in the other.

### His Former Attack on Dr. Colenso.

Dean Williams also published a sermon in his Cathedral against Lord Romilly's judgment in the Colenso Case, in which he called Dr. Colenso "a Bishop who has been condemned on numerous charges of the most flagrant heresy, patiently considered by the most imposing and influential Provincial Council that could be assembled in South Africa," and characterised the Romilly judgment as appearing "to bind the Church here to the unparalleled degradation of being obliged to argue out all the profoundest mysteries of the Faith before the secular Judges and Magistrates of the land".

### His Subsequent Volte-Face.

Dean Williams, as will presently be recorded, subsequently invited Dr. Colenso to invade the diocese of Grahamstown

and hold a schismatical Confirmation Service in the Cathedral, when Bishop Merriman was in residence in the city. His volte-face was complete. There are other persons besides Dean Williams who (to use "Punch's" phrase) have "eaten their labels" in the political as well as in the ecclesiastical world. Take the well-known case of Dr. Hensley Henson, the Dean of Durham. I can remember this gentleman being considered the rising hope of the younger Catholics in England. He took a very strong line against fraternising with Dissent at the time of the Grindelwald Conference—rather *too* strong a line, as I and others then thought—but he has now "eaten his labels" with a vengeance. He has also very carefully "*burnt what he adored and adored what he burnt*". But he frankly owns up to his absolute change of belief. He makes no bones about it.

### His Futile Denials of Changed Opinions.

Dean Williams was a very different sort of man. He was an ecclesiastical "Machiavelli". And he persistently *denied* that he had changed his views in the face of evidence to the contrary. He thus lost the respect of all honest men. His denials took the form of published letters to his own paper, the "Eastern Star," and were promulgated in a sermon preached in the Cathedral. After my careful inspection of the Minutes of the Provincial Synod, I published in parallel columns with his sermon extracts from the Minutes which showed that he was not telling the truth. His published reply was that the Minutes were untrustworthy, though they had been signed and confirmed by Bishop Gray, as Metropolitan, in his presence as a member of the Synod. In his sermon he said: "*I cordially assented to*" the disclaiming clause (quoted above) against altering the Church of England standards. This, as has been shown above, was the very clause he desired to expunge. His attempt to impugn the

accuracy of minutes assented to by himself and signed in his presence by Bishop Gray, did him infinite harm in the minds of honourable men, coupled as it was with a persistent denial of any change of views. There were, however, other matters of a serious personal character that developed from time to time, and created grave difficulties both for Bishop Merriman and his successor, Bishop Webb. Bishop Merriman dealt exclusively with the ecclesiastical aspect of the action taken by Dean Williams. It was left to the impartial judgment of his successor to set down formally and officially his view of the conduct of Dean Williams as affecting his personal character.

### Bishop Webb's Memorandum on Dean Williams.

Bishop Webb issued a Memorandum to the Vestry of the Cathedral on his arrival in the Diocese in 1883, in which the following words occur:

"The Bishop cannot hide from himself the notorious fact that grave charges affecting the character of Dr. Williams as a Christian and a clergyman are publicly put forth, whereby many persons are offended and are prevented on this and other grounds from attending ministrations at St. George's Church. He considers it essential that Dr. Williams, either by submitting to a commission of inquiry or by some other means equally efficacious, should make it clear that these charges are false and without foundation."

### Action for Libel. Dean Williams gets a Farthing Damages.

These personal charges were investigated by the Eastern Districts Court before which Dr. Williams had entered an action for libel against a person who had formulated them in a very definite manner. The case was long and tedious and the charges were dealt with *seriatim*. The damages were laid at £1000, and Dr. Williams got a verdict for a farthing.

It may well be imagined that such a verdict did not re-habilitate Dr. Williams in the opinion of the public. It is necessary to mention this personal issue as it was the underlying factor of Bishop Merriman's difficulties, although he never dealt with any matters outside the ecclesiastical aspect of the Grahamstown Cathedral Case.

With this preface the history of the case can be entered upon in detail.

### Dean Williams Severs the Cathedral from the Diocesan Synod.

Following up his protests against the Provincial Synod in October, 1875, Dean Williams influenced the laity of the Cathedral to protest against any action of the Diocesan Synod which would militate against his former protest against the Provincial Synod. They declined to elect any lay representatives for Synod, and at a meeting held to elect lay representatives they formulated a protest on lines acceptable to the Dean. The Bishop pointed out in a letter to the Dean that the protest was an attack on the Synodical Government of the South African Church and the Dean replied, *more suo*, that he was not responsible for what his laity said. The diocese did not re-elect him as one of the representatives in the Provincial Synod of 1876. If they had done so he would have been compelled to disclose his change of front before the whole Church, and it might have altered the subsequent course of events in detail if not in principle. But the feeling of the clergy which was evoked by his open hostility to Bishop Merriman was too strong for them to consider policy.

### Dean Williams Censured by the Diocesan Synod of 1876.

In the Diocesan Synod of 1876 the diocese took definite action. After a long debate, during which Bishop Merriman

vacated the Chair of the Synod in favour of the Senior Archdeacon (from his earnest desire to minimise the personal issue) the Synod resolved: "That the notorious connection of Dr. F. H. Williams with the 'Eastern Star' newspaper is a hindrance to Church work and an offence against good morals". The laity spoke quite as strongly as the clergy, and a vote by orders was taken. The resolution was carried by a majority of both orders. The Dean, in his speech, very cleverly said that the clergy were not debarred from writing leaders for the Press and doing journalistic work, which was true enough. He carefully evaded the real point at issue, which, as expressed by a subsequent speaker, was that articles (of which the Dean neither affirmed nor denied the authorship) appeared in the "Eastern Star" holding up Church authority and authorities to ridicule, and therefore outsiders were scandalised at the idea of a dignitary of the Church abusing his clerical superiors and others, in the columns of a newspaper presumably under his control. Another clergyman of the diocese, in a published pamphlet, characterised the articles imputed to the Dean as being "most scandalous, sparing neither the honour of the living nor the memory of the dead, utterly unscrupulous in their use of private correspondence, and therefore an offence against all sense of justice and propriety, and indeed, common honesty". These are strong words, but they expressed the feelings of the majority of the Synod. Archdeacon White, a learned scholar and most judicious leader, voted for the resolution, and every member of the Cathedral Chapter, save Archdeacon Kitton (who was precluded from voting because he was in the Chair) also voted on the same side. Four of the clergy who then voted for the resolution subsequently became members of the Chapter. It was my first Synod, so I did not speak on the motion, though I voted for it from conviction that it was right. Whether it was prudent is another consideration. It brought a personal issue to the

front instead of the constitutional issue of loyalty to our Constitution and Canons. But the majority of the laity in Synod had been outraged in their inmost feelings by the attacks on Bishop Merriman and they were urgent for a personal vote of censure upon the Dean by the Synod. One of these laymen was the late Professor MacEwan, who left behind him a reputation second to none as a scientific botanist as well as that of being a most kindly and genial personality. The affectionate regard shown by the clergy to Bishop Merriman personally made them desire to censure the Dean for his ceaseless attacks on his Diocesan.

### Synod's Address of Loyalty to Bishop Merriman.

The Synod adopted an address of loyalty to the Bishop, thanking him for his charge in which he had lucidly set forth the completed work of the Provincial Synod of 1876, which had finally ratified the Constitution and Canons governing the South African Church, passed by the Provincial Synod of 1870. The second clause of this address was as follows: "This Synod desires to express its thankfulness to Almighty God for the successful completion of the organisation of the Church of South Africa by the Provincial Synod lately held in Cape Town, and its deep sense of the duty of all members of the Church, both clergy and laity, to uphold the Constitution of the Church, there confirmed by common consent, and to obey the Canons and Rules then and formerly enacted by the authority of the Church of this Province".

Dean Williams immediately proposed to delete this clause because he claimed freedom from the authority of the very Canons and Constitution he had helped to enact in 1870. He challenged a division and two clergy and five laity voted with him, whilst twenty-three clergy and seventeen laity upheld the clause, expressing loyalty to the Constitution of the Province. There were twenty-seven clergy and twenty-five laity in Synod. This was the really crucial division of

the Synod and was of importance as showing that the Dean's policy of ecclesiastical anarchy had no real influence in the diocese. There was a further importance in the vote, because this Session of the Grahamstown Synod was the first opportunity for any diocese to express its loyalty to the work of the Provincial Synod of 1876.

### Bishop Merriman's Memorandum to the Chapter on the Dean's Conduct.

With regard to the personal vote of censure on Dean Williams it must be recorded that the Synod had before it a memorandum addressed by the Bishop to the Cathedral Chapter, in which he asked for the advice of the Chapter on the following points:—

"(I) The Dean's claim to be in precisely the same position as regards the Cathedral as "*The Deans of Westminster, London, (sic) or Manchester*". (This is a quotation from a letter from the Dean, which exhibits his ignorance of the fact that Westminster Abbey is a "Royal Peculiar," and the Dean is his own "Ordinary". What he meant by the "Dean of London" was probably the Dean of S. Paul's).

"(II) The Dean's claim to have the sole right of ordering all the services, so that the Bishop and any of the Canons officiate therein only under the permission of the Dean. He claims to inhibit the Canons from officiating in the Cathedral if they have in his estimation violated his parochial rights.

"(III) The Dean claims to be free from observing the Canons of the Church, whether Provincial or Diocesan, in case they are not, in his opinion, in exact accordance with English Statute Law.

"(IV) The Dean has allowed his congregation without any remonstrance on his part to cut themselves off from the actions of the rest of the diocese by directly refusing to send lay delegates to our Synod.

"(V) Abusive attacks upon Church authority as upheld amongst us have been found continually recurring in a newspaper published in this city. Grave scandal to the Church is caused not only by the general belief that the Dean is editor or joint editor of this newspaper, and author of these attacks, but still more by the fact that he has never disavowed this connection, almost universally imputed to him. Can the Chapter devise any means for the removal of this scandal? The Bishop would be glad to have the advice of the Chapter on these several points."

(Signed) N. J. Grahamstown.

## A South African Chapter is *Diocesan* and the Dean is A Parish Priest.

It must be borne in mind that a South African Cathedral differs fundamentally from a Cathedral in England, from the fact that it is also a Parish Church, used from time to time by the Bishop and Chapter for Diocesan purposes. The Dean is a parish priest with cure of souls, and usually has curates to help him, who are not connected with the Chapter, although they may bear the honorary title of "Priest-Vicar". They are paid from parochial funds. The Cathedral Chapter in South Africa has very little to do with the parochial side of the Cathedral. The Canons have their preaching turns, arranged in Chapter, and the Chapter is really a *Diocesan* body (partly elected by the clergy), which is the Bishop's *Standing Council of Advice*. The Chapter has the power of tendering advice to the Bishop in urgent matters, whether he asks for it or not. In such a case the Dean would preside in Chapter, and in all other cases, when the Bishop does not personally summon the Chapter (through the Dean) for its advice to him regarding matters which he lays before it. The Bishop, though not himself a member of the Chapter, has the right to preside in Chapter when it is acting as his Council

of Advice. The Dean can summon the Chapter apart from the Bishop, but usually the Bishop presides. With regard to the Bishop's authority in the Cathedral itself, the South African Cathedrals are governed by the recommendation made many years ago by the English Cathedral Commission, "That it shall be made clear by declaring enactments that the Bishop has the right of preaching and of performing all the Ordinances and Ceremonies of the Church in the Cathedral whenever he shall think proper".

### Reply of the Chapter.

In the case of Grahamstown Cathedral the Chapter had been formed in 1860, to consist of the Dean, the two Archdeacons, the Chancellor of the Cathedral, and two other Canons. But Bishop Cotterill in founding the Chapter unfortunately did not frame and promulgate Statutes to govern the relations of the Bishop to the Dean and Chapter. This lack of Statutes gave Dean Williams an opportunity which he was not slow to grasp. He put forth the abnormal claims cited by the Bishop in his Memorandum to the Chapter, and his action, when the Chapter met to consider the Bishop's Memorandum, was arrogant and autocratic. At the Chapter meeting Archdeacon White moved that the Chapter's answer to the Bishop on the point of his having the right to preach in the Cathedral should be "That the opinion of the Chapter is that the Bishop has a right to officiate at any time in the Cathedral, or to preach, or to do both, whenever he pleases". The whole Chapter was unanimously in favour of this resolution save the Dean, who declined to allow it to be put.

The Archdeacon also moved that the Chapter answer the Bishop's third question, as to the powers claimed by the Dean, as follows: "That in the opinion of the Chapter the Dean of this Cathedral has no powers or rights as Dean but those which have been conferrd on the Dean by the Bishop". The Dean declined to put this motion as a breach of privilege.

He found out his mistake when this question got into the Civil Courts, which decided that he had placed himself by virtue of his Letters of Institution in precisely the same position with regard to the Bishop as any other beneficed priest of the diocese. The Civil Courts could refer to Bishop Cotterill's "Letters Patent" under which the Dean was appointed, which stated explicitly that the Bishop could appoint Dignitaries of the Cathedral and Diocese "provided always that the said Dignitaries and Archdeacons aforesaid shall be subject and subordinate to the said Bishop of Grahamstown and his successors".

The fact that the issue of "Letters Patent" had been discontinued when Bishop Merriman succeeded Bishop Cotterill does not affect the condition of subordination of the Dean to the Bishop for the time being which the original "Letters Patent" (which founded the See) created in 1853. The Dean's position was legally and ecclesiastically untenable so far as his personal subordination to the Bishop was concerned. But if Bishop Cotterill had not founded a Chapter *without Statutes* the trouble caused by the personal equation of Dean Williams would have been minimised. He would have had to assent to the Cathedral Statutes as a condition of his installation as Dean, and he could not have adopted the calculated attitude of revolt which so grievously disturbed the peace of the Diocese of Grahamstown. It was in vain that the Bishop's patience tried the experiment of leaving him severely alone. He declined to be left alone, and lost no opportunities of aggressive action. On one occasion the Bishop, who had been resident in Grahamstown since 1848, and was sincerely loved and trusted by the people, made an engagement to preach in the Cathedral for a local Benefit Society. He found himself unexpectedly called to visit a distant part of the diocese. The Bishop informed the Dean

that he wished one of the local clergy to take his place. The Dean curtly refused and the Bishop had to make a long, toilsome, and expensive journey to fulfil his engagement, and alter all his plans. Technically, the Dean may have pleaded justification, but his whole course of action was directed and inspired by personal hostility to the Bishop and to all the clergy and laity who adhered to his cause. After the Diocesan Synod of 1876 the Dean's circle was narrowed to a very small coterie of personal adherents. He had no influence outside Grahamstown. But I thought it wise on my return from the Synod to get the churchwardens of the four Port Elizabeth churches and the lay representatives of the Port Elizabeth parishes to frame a loyal address to the Bishop to show that the vote of censure on Dean Williams did not emanate from a Grahamstown clique.

### Lay Address from Port Elizabeth.

After expressing loyalty to the Constitution and Canons of the South African Church, the Laymen's Address proceeded as follows: "We take this opportunity of recording our opinion, because a deliberate attempt has been made to represent the line of action taken by the Synod in reference to the Dean as being merely the work of personal and party feeling in your Cathedral City. We believe that the independent voice of the Church throughout the whole of the Province demands a remedy for the grave dissensions caused by the literary and ecclesiastical action of the Dean of Grahamstown. As representatives of the Church in Port Elizabeth we claim to stand aloof from all personal and party feeling in this grave and solemn matter and to give expression to the independent opinion of a most important division of your Lordship's diocese." These last words expressed the fact that Port Elizabeth was, and still is, the largest and most important centre of Church life in the Diocese of Grahamstown.

### The Bishop's Reply.

Bishop Merriman's reply to this address is characteristic of him. The Bishop wrote:—

"I beg to thank you very cordially for the sympathy you have expressed with myself, as well as for the loyalty to the Constitution and Canons of our Province which you have so unreservedly declared in the Address that has just been forwarded to me from Port Elizabeth. It is a valuable record of the Church feeling of the most important and influential portion of our community, and is rendered the more seasonable from the misrepresentations which have been circulated, but which your Address from so many different congregations entirely disproves. I shall forbear to remark upon any of those matters upon which the Synod and the Cathedral Chapter have each severally expressed their opinions. If we cannot succeed in removing the scandals which now beset us and that mar the harmony of our Church work, we can at least preserve ourselves from complicity with the evils which tend to bring disgrace on the Church and discredit upon our Holy Religion. Trusting that God will in His own good time bestow upon us the blessings of harmony and concord, and will so guide the barque of His Church over the waves of this troublesome world that we may at last attain to a haven of rest,

"I am, dear Brethren,

"Your faithful friend and Pastor,

"N. J. Grahamstown."

The note of personal restraint in this reply was characteristic of all Bishop Merriman's dealings with this very painful case. He was naturally impulsive and outspoken, and he had suffered from the practised pen of the Dean, who was a master of flouts and gibes and sneers. The Bishop wisely forbade the mention of the controversy in his own house, and only spoke of it to the clergy with whom he was compelled

to take counsel in the difficulties that had arisen. He maintained this attitude of patience during the year 1877, when the Kaffir War gave him more than enough to think of. At the end of 1877 he went to England for a much-needed rest and change, during which he attended the Croydon Church Congress and somewhat astonished Archbishop Tait, as has previously been stated.

### The Metropolitan's Failure to Restrain Dean Williams.

During his absence, the late Archbishop of Capetown (Dr. West Jones), then Metropolitan, visited Grahamstown and held an Ordination at the Cathedral. He did his best to deal with the difficulties that had arisen. He was a man of gentleness, tact and power. But I well remember his saying as he passed through Port Elizabeth that he had done his best to persuade Dr. Williams to recede from his position of revolt, "but it was of no use". He failed utterly, and he foresaw much trouble in the immediate future. I thought it necessary to write a letter to the Port Elizabeth "Telegraph," explaining that the action of the Synod was no attack upon the liberty of the Press, but a protest against the *unfair* use of the Press to foment strife and controversy in the City of Grahamstown. I incidentally alluded to the strong feeling of the clergy and laity present in the Synod against the Dean's personal conduct to the Bishop. My letter, courteous and guarded though it was, was promptly followed up by a threat in the Dean's paper, the "Eastern Star," that I might be the defendant in an action for libel. I replied at some length that I believed that such an action would be of advantage to the Church, as the Courts of Law could elicit the whole truth, which would "amply justify the action of the Synod". Needless to say, I heard nothing more of the matter.

### The Bishop's Action in 1878.

The Bishop returned from England in 1878, and the Chapter, having suffered enough from Bishop Cotterill's failure to promulgate Statutes for the Cathedral, proceeded to draft Statutes. The Dean blocked the action of the Chapter in every possible way, but eventually the draft was completed and unanimously agreed upon by the Chapter, with the exception of the Dean. The Bishop then solemnly promulgated the new Statutes under his hand and seal. They contained the recommendations of the English Cathedral Commissioners, above quoted, that the Bishop had, by virtue of his office, power to officiate and preach in the Cathedral at his option. The Bishop, unless hindered therefrom, is to preach in the Cathedral at the Greater Festivals of the Church. A printed and framed copy of the Statutes was hung up in the Chapter House. The Dean promptly removed it and sent it back to the Bishop with a discourteous message. The removal was a distinct act of contumacy against the Bishop and Chapter. This happened in December, 1878, and the Bishop took no further action until Sunday, April 27th, 1879, when he gave formal notice to the Dean, through the Registrar of the Diocese, that he intended to preach according to the option secured to him by the Statutes. He chose one of the Sundays after Easter Day, because he foresaw that the Dean might make some protest, and he did not wish Easter Day to be marked by any outward conflict of opinion. None but the Bishop himself knew what it cost him to take this public step to vindicate his rights. I believe that he felt that the honour and dignity of the Chapter was concerned and that he must take action to uphold the Cathedral Statutes.

### Dean Williams Prevents the Bishop Preaching in the Cathedral.

He went to the Cathedral and, as his custom was, prepared to preach from his Episcopal Throne. But Dean Williams,

to the amazement of the congregation, omitted the hymn before the sermon and began immediately to preach himself without going to the pulpit. The Bishop, with calm dignity, rose and said: "I testify before God and the Church that I am hindered in my lawful ministrations," and then left the Cathedral. He did not carry out with him the beautiful Pastoral Staff of the diocese, presented to Bishop Armstrong in 1854. The Dean, with his usual discourtesy, took possession of it and refused to give it up. The diocese did not recover it till the death of Dean Williams ended the Cathedral schism in 1885. The clergy promptly subscribed money for a new Pastoral Staff, which was presented to the Bishop. When the Diocesan Pastoral Staff was recovered in 1885, Bishop Webb retained also the Staff thus given to Bishop Merriman, and in 1888, when he raised S. Mary's, Port Elizabeth, to the rank of a Collegiate Church, he gave this Staff to be used for his second Episcopal Throne in S. Mary's. Bishop Merriman also had a Pastoral Staff (made of Colonial wood) given to him by those he had confirmed in my parish. It was given after his death to Bishop Bransby Key of S. John's, and it is still preserved in the Cathedral at Umtata.

Enough of this digression.

Not only the diocese of Grahamstown but Church people throughout South Africa were shocked at the outrage perpetrated on Bishop Merriman in his own Cathedral. I was not quite so much astonished as other people, because I knew that Dean Williams would not be restrained by the ordinary courtesies which obtain amongst gentlemen, or the decency of reverence that hinders most people from unseemly demonstrations in the House of God. If he believed that he had the right to restrain the Bishop from preaching in the Cathedral he could have framed a legal protest against the Bishop's action and brought the matter before the proper tribunals without making a public and scandalous scene in Grahamstown Cathedral.

### The Dean is Presented for Trial in the Diocesan Court.

The Bishop was reluctantly compelled to take further action. Archdeacon White presented the Dean for contumacy to the Diocesan Court. As the Bishop was personally concerned, he appointed Archdeacon Badnall of the Cape Diocese to preside as his Commissary, according to the Canon of the Provincial Synod. The three clerical assessors, Canon Henchman, the Rev. W. Llewellyn (afterwards Archdeacon of Grahamstown), and Mr. Meaden were senior clergy of the diocese, and the lay assessor, Mr. J. B. Currey, was not a resident in the diocese. Advocate Shippard (afterwards Sir Sidney Shippard, Administrator of Bechuanaland) conducted the case for the prosecution. He was one of the few South African barristers who had carefully studied the Canon Law, and his long argument dealt with every point in the Dean's case with conspicuous ability. The Dean declined to admit the jurisdiction of the Court, and his paper, the "Eastern Star," called it a "packed tribunal" and bespattered it with coarse abuse, as "an irresponsible committee of partizans".

### He is Sentenced to Suspension.

He was ultimately found guilty of contumacious disobedience to his Bishop and conduct giving cause for scandal and offence. He was sentenced to suspension *ab officio* for one Kalendar month and further, until he should engage not to repeat the offence of hindering the Bishop from preaching according to the Statutes. He ignored the sentence and ordered the clergy deputed by the Bishop to officiate to leave the Vestry.

### "The Guardian" on the Conduct of Dean Williams.

When news of the case reached England the usually cautious London "Guardian" said that "Dean Williams

must have been an element of bitterness at Grahamstown for a long time past". It spoke of "his slippery and disingenuous habits," and said that his conduct in preventing the Bishop from preaching in the Cathedral was "an impudent and scandalous proceeding, an insult to his Bishop, a scandal and an outrage". It further said, with regard to his former upholding of the South African Constitution and Canons, he repudiates without hesitation the very system of which he was a leading champion when it was established. The change of opinion is far too convenient to be beyond suspicion". "The Guardian" hit hard, but its strong words conveyed the plain truth to all who knew the circumstances.

### Action in the Supreme Court.

I felt, in common with some others, that it would be better for the Bishop not to apply to the Civil Courts for the recovery of his rights in the Cathedral. The Bishop felt this himself; but Archdeacons Badnall and White persuaded him to force the issue. The Bishop then sued the Dean in the Supreme Court of the Cape Colony for the recovery of his rights as Bishop in the Cathedral Church of the diocese. The suit became exclusively a property question, and the Chief Justice, Sir H. de Villiers (afterwards Lord de Villiers, P.C.) dealt with it on this basis.

### Judgment of the Chief Justice.

Judgment was delivered on August 26th, 1880. The Chief Justice held that since Grahamstown Cathedral was built *before* the Consecration of Bishop Gray in 1847, on a site granted "for ecclesiastical purposes in connexion with the Church of England, and for no other purpose or use whatsoever, Bishop Merriman had no legal rights over the building because he was a Bishop of the 'Church of South Africa,'

and not a Bishop of the 'Church of England,' since he had not been appointed by 'Letters Patent,' as his predecessor, Bishop Cotterill, was, but had been elected and consecrated under the Constitution and Canons of the Church of South Africa, which was a body *separated* legally from the Established Church". So far the property question. As to the personal question, the Chief Justice said that Dean Williams had become "personally subject to the Constitution and Canons of the Church of South Africa" because he had presided at the Election Assembly that elected Bishop Merriman under the South African Canons, and further that he had "personally subjected himself to the Episcopal jurisdiction" of the Bishop, and further, that he was wrong in claiming to have the power, as Dean, to exclude the Bishop from the Cathedral. But that was *nihil ad rem* to the main issue which was that the Cathedral did not legally belong to the diocese of Grahamstown, as a diocese of the South African Church, and that if there was no Dean the Bishop could not claim to officiate in the Cathedral, legally, as it was a sort of derelict trust, belonging to the Church of England, even if not *claimed* by it. He said that if the Crown (though such a course was improbable) named a Bishop by "Letters Patent," he could claim the Cathedral, although Bishop Merriman would retain his rights with regard to the other churches of the diocese, which had been built without a trust deed tying them to the Church of England. He held that Bishop Merriman could not be considered legally "the Bishop of Grahamstown for the time being". There were two important *obiter dicta* in the judgment. First, he said of the Diocesan Court, whose impartiality had been so recklessly called in question by the Dean's newspaper, that "in reading the proceedings of that Court it is impossible not to admire the ability and candour with which the prosecution was conducted, or the judicial impartiality displayed by the Tribunal itself". Here was answer enough to the parrot

cry of Erastians in England and elsewhere, that "Spiritual" Courts are likely to be unfair in their procedure. The record of our Ecclesiastical Courts in South Africa, from the trials of Dr. Colenso and Dr. Williams to the other less important cases which have been before them, has amply justified the opinion of the Chief Justice, who, as a South African of Huguenot descent, was a member of the Dutch Reformed Communion and not biassed in our favour. The Privy Council, on appeal, endorsed these words of the Chief Justice. The second point made by the Chief Justice was with regard to the personal behaviour of Dr. Williams to his Bishop. He spoke of "the question whether the Right Reverend plaintiff had been treated in this matter with that consideration, respect and good feeling to which his years, if not his position as a chief Pastor in the Church of South Africa, and his labours as a Missionary Bishop, have fairly entitled him". The *personal* issue was decided on all counts in favour of the Bishop. The *property* question was decided against him.

### The Strange Issue of the Cathedral Trust Deed.

And herein is a curious fact. Lord Blachford passed the "Colonial Clergy Act" of 1873, which was meant to secure all Church property in the colonies, which formerly belonged to the Established Church, to the Colonial Churches, as unestablished bodies under their own Synodical Government. The Act provided for the transference of all legal rights, previously exercised by "Letters Patent" Bishops, being duly transferred to their successors, who had been elected and consecrated without "Letters Patent," as Bishop Merriman had been.

### Lord Blachford's Circular.

A circular was sent to each Colonial Church before the Bill was passed in the Imperial Parliament asking whether

any uncertainty of title existed as to the transference of "Church of England" property to the local Colonial Church. When the circular came to South Africa, the Governor of the Cape officially asked the then Attorney-General (Sir H. de Villiers) whether the "Church of England" property was duly transferred to the "Church of South Africa". He replied that it was so "duly transferred," and that no mention of it was necessary in the Bill. More unfortunate advice was never given. As Chief Justice, Sir H. de Villiers tore to tatters his previous opinion as Attorney-General, and gave judgment against the Bishop because the South African Church had *not legally* secured the transfer of the "Church of England" property acquired before Bishop Gray's Consecration. He in effect gave judgment that, because the South African Church had acted on his advice as Attorney-General he must decide that the property was lost to us. He recommended us to apply to the Legislature for transfer of those very properties which he had considered as legally belonging to us.

### Appeal to the Privy Council as a "Civil Court".

Under such abnormal circumstances, and because the matter was one concerning title deeds and property only, Bishop Merriman consented to appeal, as a British citizen, to the *civil* side of the Privy Council, against the judgment of the Chief Justice of the Cape. *Nothing* would have induced the Bishop to appeal to the Privy Council if it was sitting as a pseudo-ecclesiastical court. But this was a *civil* matter, a question of the disputed ownership of certain property; so the Bishop felt that he could appeal.

### Erastian Issue of the Appeal.

The Privy Council, even when it sits as a purely Civil Court, as it did in this case, does not forget its ecclesiastical

side. And thus the Privy Council judgment in this purely *civil* case brought in vital ecclesiastical and spiritual consequences.

### Opinion of the "Church Quarterly Review".

This made the "Church Quarterly Review" say of the judgment in October, 1882: "If the Church does not repudiate the Privy Council it cannot expect to stand in the evil day, for it will cease to wear the whole armour of God. It lays aside the sword of the spirit, which is the Word of God, and takes instead the Statutes of the Realm"—alluding in these last words to the words of the Grahamstown judgment, which declared the Church of South Africa *separated* from the Church of England, because the Third Proviso of its Constitution rejects the Privy Council decisions as interpreting the Formularies of the Church. It is not enough, according to the Privy Council, for the Church of South Africa to accept the *Formularies* of the Church of England if, by rejecting the Privy Council decisions, it "substantially excludes *portions of the Faith and Doctrine of the Church of England*". To assert that decisions, such as the "Gorham" and "Essays and Reviews" judgments of the Privy Council formed part of the official *credenda* of the Church of England was indeed a monstrous and abnormal claim.

### Differences Between the Privy Council Judgment and the Supreme Court Judgment.

It is true that on this point the Privy Council reaffirmed the dictum of the Court below and did not endorse the other reasons for separation affirmed by the Chief Justice of the Cape. These reasons were: (I) Canon 37, which lays down that the *interpretation* of the Constitution and Canons is to be governed "by the general principles of Canon Law thereto applicable". It seemed to Sir H. de Villiers a cause of

legal separation from the Church of England for the South African Church thus to declare itself bound by the common Canon Law of the Catholic Church. He knew nothing about the Church of England save what he had gathered from legal text books. The Privy Council disallowed this point, although they set their own decisions on matters of faith and doctrine *above* the Canon Law.

(II) The Chief Justice's contention that the clause in our Constitution which forbids us to follow the Church of England if she alters the Athanasian Creed, was a further cause of legal disconnection, was accepted by the Privy Council as a *fact* but *not* as a cause for disconnection.

(III) The Chief Justice said that our repudiation of Bishop Colenso who was, by Civil Law, "Bishop of Natal," and our appointing a successor to him, also caused disconnection.

The Privy Council made no reference to this point.

(IV) The Chief Justice said that our method of electing and consecrating Bishops, *without the consent of the Crown*, was also a cause of disconnection, and that Bishop Merriman was not the *legal* Bishop of Grahamstown.

The Privy Council swept aside this argument by the words "the plaintiff in the Court below and the appellant here *is* the Bishop of Grahamstown". Further, they said that the suggestion of the Court below that the Crown might yet create a "Letters Patent" Bishop to supplant Bishop Merriman could not be considered by them. On this point it is interesting to note that one of the Judges in the Cape Supreme Court, who sat in the case, and concurred in the judgment, wrote to Bishop Merriman, as a friend, that it would solve all difficulties if he would apply for "Letters Patent" and get himself *re-consecrated* in England! This Judge was a nominal Churchman!

But the *crux* of the Privy Council judgment was the reaffirmation of the decision of the Court below on the property question and the reason they gave for it. All property

connected legally with the Church of England was lost to the South African Church, *because* it shut out the decisions of the Privy Council (when it sat as an Ecclesiastical Court, as it did in the Gorham case) to determine the interpretation of the Formularies of the Church of England.

### Issues of the P.C. Judgment as Affecting the Whole of the English Church.

It said that "in England the standard is the Formularies, *as judicially interpreted*". In South Africa it is the Formularies as they may be construed without interpretation (i.e. without the interpretation of the Privy Council). Here was a fair and square issue for the *Ecclesia Anglicana*. Was she spiritually bound to the decisions of a Secular Tribunal, which her Convocations had never received, and which her Bishop had publicly protested against in the House of Lords? Was not the Church of South Africa *right* in refusing to be bound by the decisions of a Tribunal which the Mother Church had never accepted? Would it not be an intolerable wrong to her spiritual character if the South African Church, for the sake of securing some property, were to alter her Constitution, and, as a Church, free and unestablished, voluntarily put herself under the yoke of the Privy Council by abrogating her Proviso rejecting its judgments? These were the momentous issues raised by the Privy Council judgment in the Grahamstown Cathedral case, delivered on June 28th, 1882.

### Dr. Colenso Invades Grahamstown.

Before dealing further with them, I must recur to events which happened between 1880 and 1882.

Dr. Colenso, as the first outcome of the Supreme Court judgment, entered into friendly relations with Dr. Williams and forgave him his former denunciations of his heresies.

On October 21st, 1880, he held a schismatic Confirmation in Grahamstown Cathedral. In Dr. Colenso's "Life" this incident finds a place, and his biographer calmly states that, since the judgment in the Supreme Court declared that Bishop Merriman was not legally a Bishop of the "Church of England," Dr. Colenso treated the See of Grahamstown as *vacant*. I have dealt with this episode more fully in my "Life of Dean Green," and have shown how the Dean, in a most dignified and courteous letter, tried to dissuade Dr. Colenso from an act of gross discourtesy, to say nothing of its other aspects. If Dr. Colenso stood on his position as "Letters Patent" Bishop of Natal, his invasion of the diocese of Grahamstown left him in the position of a schismatic intruder, without a shred of so-called "Church of England" law to justify his action.

Bishop Merriman, who was resident in Grahamstown at the time, asked me to arrange for a formal inhibition being served on him when he landed in Port Elizabeth. I carried out the Bishop's instructions, and Dr. Colenso contemptuously waved the document aside. He preached two sermons in the Cathedral which exhibited the veiled Unitarianism which had become his belief after he finally broke with the Church. He also offered to consecrate for Dr. Williams a rival and schismatic "Bishop of Grahamstown".

### Diocesan Synod of 1880 in Port Elizabeth.

Bishop Merriman held his Diocesan Synod in 1880 at Port Elizabeth, and used S. Mary's instead of the Cathedral for the Synod Services. He was much cheered by the demonstration of loyalty and unity shown by the Synod, and a sum of over £400 was collected for diocesan funds, after a public meeting at which he presided. We eagerly awaited the Bishop's Charge to the Synod. The Dean's matter had not yet gone to the Supreme Court, and the Bishop's allusion to

the trouble was couched in restrained and dignified language. The Bishop said: "The insubordination of one member, though it has happily been confined to one, has caused a sad rupture in our ranks, by shutting out from our communion and fellowship one who, by position and ability, ought to have been the chief adviser and support to the See, the foremost in our councils, and the defender and not the destroyer of the organisation which he himself assisted in framing. I shall not now dwell any further on this sorrowful subject otherwise than to point out what I deem may, in the present distress, be to all of us a source of consolation. And for this I need but call to your remembrance that it was not in the most quiet and orderly times, nor in the absence of grievous scandals, that the Church of old exhibited her highest and holiest features. It was not in the smooth current of an unbroken unanimity that she either grew the most rapidly or shone with the brightest lustre." The Bishop again urged upon the clergy not to think too much about the injury wrought by the Cathedral controversy. "God be praised," he said, "we have in spiritual matters some very hopeful signs of progress. Our communicants throughout the diocese have largely increased. Our diocesan schools have revived and are flourishing, and wherever diligent pastoral care has been bestowed, there, I believe, it has been attended with a visible blessing upon our labours, so that, in spite of discouragements here and there, no man's heart need sink or be dismayed or deem any other than that 'Our God is with us of a truth'."

### Bishop Merriman's Sense of Humour.

These brave and inspiring words kept the diocese in good heart and were worthy of the grand old Bishop who uttered them. Not a word was said in Synod upon the Cathedral controversy, and we knew that Bishop Merriman valued our

silence. There was one amusing episode which showed that the Bishop's sense of humour had not been crushed out of him by his anxieties. He asked the Synod to consider the appointment of a Coadjutor Bishop. He was in his seventy-third year and had worked as Archdeacon and Bishop for thirty-one years in the Diocese of Grahamstown. We felt that the Bishop's vigour was still equal to the work of the diocese, and we did not think it wise to have an election of a Coadjutor Bishop whilst the Cathedral case was pending. The Bishop felt disappointed at our decision, till the Chaplain told him that one of the clergy said that surely the Bishop did not need a coadjutor, with such a stalwart pair of legs as he still could show us. The Bishop laughed heartily and said, "Well, if they think my legs are good enough for work I will hang on". He was a fine stalwart figure of a man even in old age and he had some reason to be proud of his legs, for he had walked hundreds of miles in his early Visitations. He walked from Grahamstown to Capetown on one occasion —a distance of over 600 miles.

### The Bishop's Reply to my Letter on the Case.

The Bishop did not expect a successful issue to the Cathedral Case in the Civil Courts. I wrote to him a letter of sympathy when it was decided to apply to the Supreme Court. His reply was characteristic. He wrote:

"Your letter, just received, has my very warm thanks—not for a moment that I was unaware of the full extent of your sympathy, or doubted that prayers as well as good wishes went along with me in this my most heavy trial. But the penultimate sentence of your letter, conveying your belief that even a temporary triumph of the world power would be a spiritual defeat to our opponents, is an utterance much in contrast with those who weaken my hands by pointing out the precariousness of my position, and the strong probabilities

that Civil Courts will go against me. Pecuniary ruin and overthrow before the world is perhaps what I ought to expect and to strive, by God's mighty help, to prepare myself to endure. From the beginning I have thought I was vindicating the rights of jurisdiction of the whole Colonial Episcopate, which, if no one dares to assert, when thus openly challenged, I fear that the whole Church would take more harm than under the possible contingency of my apparent defeat before the eyes of men. I can only repeat inwardly the 26th Psalm.

"I am,
"Yours Sincerely,
"N. J. Grahamstown."

I was in close touch with the Bishop during the whole of this trying time. I never heard him say a bitter or harsh word about Dean Williams. After the case was over in the Supreme Court, he left Grahamstown for some months and lived in Uitenhage, some twenty miles from Port Elizabeth. He wished to keep his wife and daughters from dwelling on the trouble, and wisely decided on change of scene. I met him one day and he told me that he had been refreshing his mind with Herodotus, and had just read the nine books straight through. I once did the same, and I can understand the Bishop's relief in the freshness of the old Ionian historian. He was a thorough Wykehamist, and never lost his taste for classics or his memories of the days when he was Senior Prefect at Winchester.

## The Bishop Joins the E.C.U.

After the Diocesan Synod of 1880 a branch of the E.C.U. was founded, of which the Bishop became President. I felt that we should need all the sympathy in England which the E.C.U. could give in the stormy times ahead

of us, and we raised a fund for the faithful priests who at that time were prosecuted and imprisoned under the Public Worship Regulation Act. The Bishop subscribed, for he held that they were fighting Erastianism, which he hated as the chief foe to the Church of England. The Whig ideal of the Establishment, so dear to Erastian politicians, was *anathema* to the Bishop. He held by Cavour's ideal of a "Free Church in a Free State".

### He Stands by me in Ritual Troubles.

Early in 1882 I was subjected to a mild attack on the ritual and music used at S. Mary's. I used a Gregorian Psalter, and a petition was sent to the Bishop praying for its disuse and also attacking Vestments and Altar Lights. I was in difficulties, too, about the Missa Cantata at 11 a.m. (after Plain Matins) which I used on festivals and monthly. But I was strongly supported. Mr. L. Michell (now Sir Lewis Michell), one of my church officers, got up a strong petition of male communicants to support my action, and forwarded it to the Bishop, who replied, "I am well assured that a very preponderating majority of the communicants have attached their names to the Memorial, and I am also no less assured that the Rector is disposed by conciliatory measures to win the esteem and secure the continued adherence to the services at S. Mary's of those who in some particulars may differ from him". The Bishop counselled "strong majorities" to use consideration in dealing with "a minority," and expressed his belief that "the concessions now made by the Rector to the weaker party will issue in the general contentment of all". This ended the trouble. I retained Plain song for the Psalms and had Cathedral Services for the Canticles, and I had previously provided a plain Mass once a month for the objectors, in which the Altar Lights

were not lit but Vestments were worn. After a year this service was disused by common consent.

### London Committee to Help to Pay Bishop Merriman's Costs.

Bishop Merriman's costs in the Grahamstown Cathedral Case amounted to £2132. It was manifestly unfair to leave the Bishop and the South African Church to bear this liability unaided. A London Committee was formed with Earl Nelson as Chairman, and Sir Bartle Frere, Mr. Beresford Hope, Mr. J. G. Hubbard and others as members. Lord Salisbury, Lord Nelson, Lord Powis, Sir H. Barkly (late Governor of the Cape), Sir Bartle Frere, Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Beresford Hope and others subscribed liberally. A Capetown Committee raised £400 for the appeal, and the Grahamstown Committee, £820. Nearly every parish in the diocese raised money for this purpose.

### The Money Well Spent.

An endeavour was made to relieve the Bishop personally by returning to him £350 of the £470 he had already paid. It may be said: *To what purpose was this waste?* But we did not feel it to be a *waste*, though money was sorely needed in every South African Diocese. We had to ascertain our exact legal position in our relation to the Church of England, which the Australian Church has not yet been able to ascertain. It was no *waste* to defend first principles, and when I wrote to Bishop Merriman that the temporary triumph of the world power would be a spiritual defeat to the Erastians, my forecast has been abundantly justified by events.

### Our Visit to England in 1882.

In June, 1882, my wife and I left for England. I had been eight years in South Africa without a change, and

we both needed one. At Madeira I landed, and saw in "The Times" leading article a summary of the Privy Council judgment in the Grahamstown Case, which had been delivered on June 28th. I felt at first too indignant at the cold-blooded Erastianism of the judgment to take a judicial view of its bearings. Of course, it did not pretend to be an ecclesiastical judgment, but it touched grave spiritual issues when the reasons assigned by the Judges to determine the ownership of certain buildings, as a civil matter, declared that property, earmarked for the "Church of England," could not be legally held by the "Church of South Africa," because our *Third Proviso* repudiated the ecclesiastical decisions of the Privy Council, which the judgment alleged to be part of the official *credenda* of the Church of England, and, by implication, on a level with the Catholic Creeds.

### Difficult Position of the Metropolitan.

The Metropolitan (Dr. West Jones) was in England, and he was in an especially difficult position. Archdeacon Badnall, his formerly trusted counsellor, was apparently obsessed by the idea that his judgment in the Grahamstown Diocesan Court must be upheld *per fas et nefas*. The Civil Courts had taken Grahamstown Cathedral away from the diocese and given their reasons for so doing.

### Archdeacons Badnall and Fogg Desire to Submit to Erastianism.

The chief reason was the Third Proviso in our Constitution, and so Archdeacon Badnall was ready to adopt any *volte face* in Church principles to secure the jeopardised Church property, which, when once thus secured, would enable his judgment against Dean Williams to be carried

into effect. He took "short views" of the whole matter, and openly advocated (1) the abolition of our Third Proviso, and (2) the enactment of a new Canon accepting the Privy Council *eo nomine*.

### Archdeacon Badnall's Previous Unsound Line in 1876.

It was not the first occasion on which Archdeacon Badnall had taken a wrong line. In the Provincial Synod of 1876 he came forth as the champion of the "innocent divorced party," and induced the Synod to tinker with our Canon which affirmed the indissolubility of marriage, by inserting words which threw the *onus* of deciding each case upon the parish priest. We had to wait till the Provincial Synod of 1898 to get this mischief undone, and our Canon now adheres to the ancient law ecclesiastical of the Church of England which forbids divorce *a vinculo* absolutely (vide Blackstone's "Commentaries" and the Canons of 1604). Archdeacon Badnall speedily became the leader of a small but influential group of clergy and laity, mainly resident in the Cape Peninsula, who were afraid of the consequences of the legal separation of the Church of South Africa from the Church of England.

### The Derby Church Congress of 1882.

The Derby Church Congress of 1882 seemed to me an excellent opportunity of holding a meeting to uphold the stand of the South African Church against the Privy Council. The Metropolitan was out of England at the time and there was no South African priest able to take action at that particular moment, but myself. I consulted Mr. Beresford Hope and others, and we decided to hold a meeting of supporters of the South African Church at Derby on the ostensible ground of furthering the building of a

new church in my parish as a memorial to Bishop Gray. It was a memorable meeting. A grave responsibility rested on me with regard to it. The Metropolitan (Dr. West Jones) was far from well and was resting in the Engadine.

### Erastian Efforts to Repeal the Third Proviso.

He was perplexed with divided counsels and uncertain as to the exact legal effect of abolishing our Third Proviso. People apparently told him that the repeal of the Proviso would not commit us to the acceptance of the decisions of the Privy Council. Archdeacon Badnall wrote to him withdrawing his obnoxious amended Canon, which accepted the Privy Council decisions *eo nomine*. The Metropolitan wrote to Bishop Cotterill (late of Grahamstown, then of Edinburgh), "If I were sure that the repeal would not change our legal position I could not refuse to sanction it, though I should not like it". To me he wrote, "I do not feel at all pledged to oppose to the bitter end the omission of the Proviso, if that is all that is done, if, as I believe, the omission would not bind us to accept Privy Council decisions, and if this proves the only way in which we can obtain the legislation we require". Archdeacon Croghan, of Bloemfontein, wrote to me urging some definite action. The Metropolitan told me in his letter that he "deprecated strongly any public demonstration on the matter in England," but after very careful consultation with older and wiser men than myself, I held that Derby meeting.

### I Arrange a Meeting at Derby to Deal with the Situation.

I have always reckoned that the Derby meeting was a determining factor in the situation, as it ranged the E.C.U. and all the Catholic clergy and laity on the side of the South

African Church, and I believe that the outspoken speeches of the Hon. C. L. Wood (now Lord Halifax), Lord Nelson, Mr. Beresford Hope and others strengthened the hands of the Metropolitan to take the resolute line of resistance which he adopted before his return to South Africa, and from which he never swerved.

### Mr. Beresford Hope is Chairman.

The meeting was held on Thursday, October 5th, 1882, with Mr. Beresford Hope in the Chair, and in his opening speech, after a kindly allusion to his having known me for many years, and an expression of sympathy for the proposed new Church, he said that "it was an expression of the opinion of English Churchmen on the crisis in the South African Church," meant to make South African Churchmen see "that after all, abominably as they had been treated by tribunals, they had only lost a mess of pottage; and he could not conceive it possible that there could be any attempt to compromise with the Privy Council for the sake of getting a mere tumble-down building at Grahamstown, for it would not only bring the South African Church into contempt, but would cut off all the sympathy in England which must be otherwise given to her".

### Letter Read from Bishop Harold Browne of Winchester.

Mr. Beresford Hope then read two important letters, which I had received from the Bishops of Winchester and Salisbury. The Bishop of Winchester wrote to me as follows:—

"Farnham Castle,
"*September 28th*, 1882.

"Dear Sir,

"I regret that I cannot attend the meeting to which you invite me on the evening of Thursday, October 5th. I

feel as strongly as anyone can feel that the recent judgment in the Grahamstown Case is most disastrous to the Colonial Church if it means all that to most of us it seems to mean. I hope and trust that by interpretation or legislation or other process the Colonial Church may be freed from anything which can hamper its legitimate independence, without in any way depriving it of its privileges as one with the ancient Church of the Empire.—I am, dear sir, yours very faithfully in our Lord, E. H. WINTON."

These words meant much from a Prelate so cautious and moderate as Bishop Harold Browne.

AND FROM BISHOP MOBERLY OF SALISBURY.

Bishop Moberly's letter was even more emphatic, and carried very great weight as coming from an aged veteran so revered as a leader by the older Anglo-Catholics. The Bishop of Salisbury's letter was then read:—

"PALACE SALISBURY.
"*25th September.*

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I beg to enclose a cheque for £5 for Bishop Gray's Memorial Church. I wish I could testify by a larger subscription my high sense of the work of Bishops Gray and Merriman and my intense feeling of the wrong done to the Colonial Church by the Privy Council judgment in the Grahamstown appeal, by which the judicial sentences of the English Ecclesiastical Courts are made to be part and parcel of the law of the Church, and subscription to them a necessary condition of legal connection with the Church of England.—Ever yours faithfully, GEORGE SARUM."

In closing his speech, Mr. Beresford Hope explained clearly the difference between the Privy Council's definition of "legal connection" to which Bishop Moberly alluded, and the spiritual union and communion which "the South African Church maintains unimpaired with the Mother Church".

### Speech of Rev. R. C. Kirkpatrick, of S. Augustine's, Kilburn.

The Rev. R. C. Kirkpatrick, Vicar of S. Augustine's, Kilburn, moved the first resolution, as follows: "That the memory of Robert Gray, Bishop of Cape Town and first Metropolitan of the Church of the Province of South Africa, is the heritage alike of the Church of England and of all her daughter Churches throughout the world, and therefore the building of a church as a visible memorial of his life and labours is an undertaking worthy of the support of all true-hearted members of the Church of England, and more particularly in the days of sorrow and perplexity for the Church over which he so courageously presided". He said that Bishop Gray stood the foremost champion of the most vital principle that could possibly be brought before the Church, which was that the Church was not subject to earthly power, neither could she allow herself to be tainted in the smallest degree with that which was properly called the spirit of Erastianism. (Applause.) He might exaggerate in his own mind, but he believed that if the Church of England was to justify her position before foreign Churches of the east and west—if she was to assert to Nonconformists the truths that she held and the doctrines with which she ministered the grace of God to humanity she must keep herself clear from any complicity with the spirit of Erastianism. (Applause.) Her mission from God to the souls of men and the world would lose its vital force if she no longer stood in her Master's name but in the name of a worldly power. (Applause.) It was in this matter that Bishop Gray had a distinct claim upon the Churchmen of the present day, and he could not conceive anything more fatal to the Church of South Africa than for her to depart from the principles he laid down. (Applause.) He trusted that these schemes would be earnestly supported: for looking back upon those who had left us during the present

century, he confessed that second to him whose loss they now so deeply deplored, he could not conceive a grander figure, take him all in all, than the late Robert Gray. (Applause.)

### Lord Nelson's Speech.

Earl Nelson, who was loudly applauded, seconded the resolution in an able manner. He said that one reason why he occupied that position was to show those who had rallied round Bishops Gray and Merriman that the English Church believed that, if the Church of South Africa deliberately moved for the withdrawal of the Proviso which precluded the judgments of the Privy Council from being accepted as law in Church matters, it would be a course ruinous to its best interests. His Lordship briefly alluded to the loss the Church had sustained in the death of Bishop Merriman, and quoted, from one of the last letters the late Bishop ever wrote, words deprecating the abandonment of the Proviso. "God forbid," said his Lordship (quoting Bishop Merriman's words), "that this should ever happen!" The speaker further observed that the Archbishop of Canterbury's letter to the Bishop of Cape Town was a decisive and most satisfactory settlement of the question at issue, and he trusted that it would effectually allay any agitation that had been raised in South Africa in the direction of accommodating the Canons and Constitution of the Church to suit the recent Privy Council judgment. Having read a part of the Archbishop's letter, Earl Nelson proceeded to say that he could not conceive what any Churchman could mean by wishing to get rid of the Proviso. He, however, believed that it would not only affect the position of the Bishop of Maritzburg, and those of the faithful clergy and laity who had gathered round him, but would also be the unchurching of the Church of South Africa. (Applause.) They must pray earnestly that this Proviso would not be withdrawn, and that the men who desired that

from motives of peace would understand that it would not result in the peace which they desired, but only result in a fruitful brood of future troubles.

Bishop Merriman had died in August, 1882, as the result of a carriage accident about four miles out of Grahamstown. A cross marks the spot where the accident occurred. He survived several days, and his last words were prayers for his diocese and people. During his unconsciousness he repeated portions of Bishop Andrewes' "Devotions" in Latin, which was his favourite book. He was beloved by Colonists and Natives alike, and was a man amongst men, a devout soldier of the Cross, and the very antithesis of the type of Bishop whose neutral-tinted policy gave rise to the ancient reproach, "Episcopi Anglicani semper pavidi". He read the Privy Council judgment shortly before his death, and, as Earl Nelson said, opposed the surrender of our Proviso in the strongest terms.

### Archbishop Tait's Letter to our Metropolitan.

Earl Nelson's allusion to Archbishop Tait's letter to our Metropolitan was timely. The Archbishop was ill and his death shortly followed. He tried to leave a legacy of peace to South Africa to undo his former antagonism to Bishop Gray's action in the Colenso case, just as he tried to minimise the troubles of S. Alban's, Holborn, by arranging an exchange for Mr. Mackonochie. His words were a useful comment on the Grahamstown judgment. He wrote: "No changes which have taken place in the Church over which you preside have in any way separated it from the Mother Church of England. The spiritual union of our members has been in no way touched by these questions." This is a bold disavowal of the supposed consequences of the Grahamstown judgment which has all the more weight from the fact of Archbishop Tait's strong Erastian tendencies.

### My Speech.

I then spoke briefly on the need of building the Gray Memorial Church in my Parish and said that the effort now being made to honour the memory of Bishop Gray was not a mere matter of building a new church or even an outward and visible memorial of him, but it came, as Lord Nelson had so eloquently and forcibly observed, in the midst of a crisis. There were those who, for motives of peace no doubt, wished to withdraw the Proviso on which the Privy Council gave judgment against the Bishop of Grahamstown in the late appeal, and the opinions which had been expressed in England on the point would sink into the hearts of South African Churchmen, and would encourage those who were firm and steadfast to continue so.

### Lord Halifax's Speech.

A thoughtful and earnest speech was then made by the Hon. C. Wood (now Lord Halifax). His chief point was that the matter in dispute in respect to South Africa was with regard to the Proviso which deprecated the authority of the Privy Council in the matters of faith and doctrine. When he considered the difficulties which had been handed down to the English Church in this respect and the line of action adopted by the late Bishop Gray and his supporters, it was heartbreaking to think that for any kind of consideration the Churchmen of South Africa would put themselves back under the old yoke. As far as the Churchmen of England were concerned, their heart's core had been moved by the attitude taken by Churchmen in South Africa, and he was sure they would receive support in any struggle they made on behalf of the inherent rights of the Church of Christ, for in fighting that battle it was felt that they were fighting a battle for their English brethren as well. There would

be no real peace if the withdrawal was made, while the effect would be that the interest of English Churchmen in the Church of Africa would cease. Within a week of the illness of Dr. Pusey, he received from him a copy of a petition signed by the most eminent Professors of Oxford, which it was intended to present to the Archbishop of Canterbury, praying him to take such measures, with the advice of the Bishops of both Provinces, whereby all questions touching the doctrine of the Church of England should be referred to a spiritual court. That showed the opinion of English Churchmen; and that the Church of Africa would be willing to abandon that Proviso which preserved its rights appeared to be beyond their comprehension. (Applause.)

Dr. Phillimore said he felt it necessary to warn the Church of South Africa not to rescind the Proviso at the coming Synod, because it would not put them right with the Privy Council, while it jeopardised their position with regard to the whole of the property acquired since 1870.

I proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Beresford Hope for presiding, and also said that I trusted Dr. Phillimore's words of warning would be taken to heart by those who were urging the property question as an argument for repealing the Proviso.

### I Raise £500 for Gray Memorial Church.

So closed this most momentous meeting, with liberal subscriptions from those present towards the building of S. Cuthbert's Gray Memorial Church in Port Elizabeth. Before I left England I had raised over £500 for the Memorial Church.

I took care that this meeting should be well reported. I arranged for a special supplement to the "Church Times" with a full report, and I also had a special supplement issued to the Port Elizabeth "Herald," which gave the same report

as the "Church Times". I feel convinced that the Derby meeting had, in a great measure, saved the situation.

### Meeting at Oxford.

On November 6th I was present at a meeting at Oxford, held in Merton College, to confer with the Metropolitan on the proposal to abolish the Proviso. I am the only living survivor of those present who spoke at that meeting.

### The Metropolitan's Firm Stand.

I think I was asked to speak first as I had letters to read from South Africa. I told the meeting that the movement to repeal the Proviso had no support outside the Diocese of Capetown, and that the Colenso faction in Natal were trying to make common cause with Archdeacon Badnall's supporters. I said that I was sure that the proposal would be defeated, and that it was our plain duty to stand fast and maintain our spiritual liberties at all hazards. I pointed out that the property question was nothing, and that our spiritual independence was everything to us.

The Metropolitan then spoke and rather deprecated my optimism. He took a gloomy view of the immediate future, as was natural, because his own diocese was divided into two hostile camps on the question. But he said his mind was finally and unalterably made up. He would stand by the Proviso at all costs and hazards, even if he lost his episcopal income, which the "anti-Proviso" party were even then attacking on the pseudo-legal plea that he was not the "legal" successor of Bishop Gray.

### Canons King and Bright.

Canon King (afterwards so widely known and beloved as the saintly Bishop of Lincoln) then spoke some words of

helpful counsel and urged the South African Church to steadfastness under trial; and then Canon Bright made the most forceful speech of the meeting. I shall never forget it. He appealed to the Metropolitan as sitting on a "throne of thorns," as the successor of Robert Gray. He gave him his deepest sympathy in his difficulties, and said that the coming Provincial Synod at Capetown was a crucial trial for the whole Anglican Communion. The immediate question must be for the Metropolitan and the Synod to put aside all questions of expediency and to think solely what would be the verdict of Church history on their actions 200 years hence. The whole Anglican claim to be Catholic and Primitive in faith, doctrine and discipline was at stake in the coming Provincial Synod. It would be a test and a sifting. If the Unestablished and Free South African Church, of its own motion, put its neck under the yoke of the Privy Council by abolishing the Proviso, the consequences would be far-reaching and disastrous. "There would be," he believed, "a large secession to Rome on the part of many of the younger men, who even now feel the galling bond of the Privy Council in England. We keep their allegiance because we tell them that the English Church, as a spiritual body, has never assented to the Privy Council as her final Court of Appeal. The State has forced it on her against her will. If you in South Africa voluntarily adopt what we are now protesting against, many will say that there is no hope for the spiritual independence or the Catholic life of the Anglican Church as a whole." This is the purport of Canon Bright's burning words. He closed his speech by a fervent appeal, dramatic in voice and gesture, to the Metropolitan to be *firm*, and very abruptly left the room to keep an urgent appointment. He was gone. We were silent—caught up in the spiritual whirlwind of his forceful eloquence, the gist of which I am only able to reproduce. The meeting somewhat abruptly closed.

### My Sermon at Derby for S.P.G.

I omitted to mention that at the Derby Church Congress I was invited to preach the S.P.G. Congress sermon at S. Alkmund's Church. I took the opportunity of saying that the "Society" method of conducting missionary work was inherently faulty. The Church of England should deal with her missionary problems by a "Board of Missions," as the American Church has always done, and not by means of party societies. At the subsequent S.P.G. meeting I was taken to task for my suggestion by Archdeacon Emery, the "Father of the Church Congress". But I have lived to see a general "Board of Missions" established, though the party societies are not dead. The outcome of the Kikuyu controversy ought to end party Protestantism in the mission field; but the end is, I fear, not yet.

### Meeting with Lord Carnarvon.

Just after the Derby Church Congress I went to Highclere to preach for the S.P.G. Lord Carnarvon was at church and came into the vestry after service to ask me to lunch with him. I took the opportunity to enlighten him with regard to the South African Church question, which bore some fruit afterwards in an excellent speech he made at a public meeting on Church matters. He was a most charming and courteous host. His keen interest in South Africa was unabated, and I had a chance of delivering my soul on Sir Bartle Frere and the Zulu War. I was most keenly questioned and cross-questioned about South African politics. I had a good deal to say and took the opportunity of saying it plainly.

Shortly after the Derby meeting I was in London and had two memorable interviews with Dean Church and Canon Liddon. Canon Liddon was very kind to me before I sailed

to South Africa in 1874. He asked me to his house and gave me much wise counsel, which he followed up with writing to me from time to time. I met him on the steps of S. Paul's and he greeted me with his wonted affectionate warmth of manner, taking both my hands and saying how glad he was to see me again. We had much talk upon the Proviso question, and he was most insistent upon the duty of the South African Church to stand firm. I always regarded him as my "Master in Theology," and he taught me more than anyone I ever knew. I never saw him again after this meeting, and I felt his death as a personal loss.

I saw Dean Church at the Deanery, and he showed me round his historic house with that wonderful charm of manner which was all his own. He was as strong as Canon Liddon on the Proviso question, and told me he had made a special appointment to meet our Metropolitan to cheer him up and hearten him for the conflict that lay before him in the Provincial Synod of 1883. When the battle was won in that Synod I wrote to tell him about it and he replied: "I am much obliged to you for your interesting letter. You have weathered a very grave crisis in a way which may excite envy elsewhere. For the adverse case was a plausible one, and questions of property are always full of rocks and shoals which do not appear on the surface but are none the less full of danger. In every way but one the result is satisfactory. It is satisfactory that the clergy have been so unwavering, and it is satisfactory that the laity have responded so heartily to their lead. Of course, the exception to all this is that the mover and seconder (of the anti-Proviso resolution) should have been men of such weight and should have been so blind to what was obvious to many trained in much lower schools than they. Probably the day is not distant when we shall all cease to talk Erastianism."

The Dean's optimism in 1883 has not been justified by events. Sir W. Harcourt and others indulged in a very

orgie of Erastianism in the so-called Church crisis of 1898. And nothing will kill Erastianism in England till the Church is disestablished.

### Dean Church and Canon Liddon.

I had been to service at Westminster Abbey and I happened to remark to Dean Church how much I preferred the service at S. Paul's which was then at the zenith of its fame under Sir John Stainer. He replied, with graceful charity, "You see, we have so many advantages at S. Paul's". The Abbey has wonderfully improved since those days, and anyone who knows what Precentor Daniell Bainbridge has done for the Abbey and its worship during his long tenure of the Precentorship, will realise that it has become a true centre of devotion.

### My Sermon at Lichfield Cathedral.

I had a very happy experience of another English Cathedral during this visit to England. I was asked to preach in Lichfield Cathedral, the scene of the sacred memories of my Ordination as Dean and Priest. I stood by the grave of Bishop Selwyn in the Close, and thought of all he had been to me. I preached on the recently restored West Front, with its beautiful statues which formed a historic "sermon in stone" which helped me to set before the people the Catholic Faith of the Anglican Communion, which Bishop Gray and Bishop Merriman had so nobly upheld in South Africa. I tried to give a clear explanation of our South African difficulties, and the sermon was published and subsequently included in a volume of sermons which I published in 1893, entitled "The Spirit of Liberty".

### Bishop Jackson at Fulham.

I called at Fulham, because Bishop Jackson, who had been at Reading School with my uncle, Colonel Wirgman, kindly

wished to see me. He was very pleasant and friendly. He was very much struck by my pointing out to him a curious and little remembered fact of Church history, with regard to the relation of Convocation to Parliament, when we were discussing the relations of Church and State. We were in the Palace Library, and I saw the Journals of the House of Lords for 1662, the year of the last Revision of the Prayer Book. When the Book was before the House of Lords a verbal error in the Baptismal Service was notified. But the House did not correct it *by its own authority*. The Bishop of Durham, with the Bishops of S. Asaph and Carlisle were deputed by the Upper House of Convocation "to mend the said word. And accordingly they came to the clerk's table and amended the same". I asked the Bishop to allow me to show him the reference to this transaction in the "Lords' Journal". He was quite pleased when I found the reference, and he agreed with me that the incident showed the great care taken by Parliament in those days not to encroach upon the legitimate authority of Convocation. I remember that the Bishop thought that Parliament had forgotten to be so careful of the rights of the Church nowadays. It was a trivial incident, but it impressed itself on my memory.

### Dr. Littledale and Mr. Mackonochie.

I met the famous Dr. Littledale and he amused me very much with his racy Irish wit and his keen comments on Church matters. I went to S. Alban's, Holborn, and heard Mr. Mackonochie pay an eloquent and touching tribute to the memory of Father O'Neill, who had just died in India. I had a long talk on Church matters with Mr. Mackonochie at the Clergy House. I remember his saying that no power to dispense with the rule of Fasting Communion existed anywhere in the Church, "and that, in cases of bodily infirmity, he adopted clinical Communion in every instance". This

was typical of his Scottish logical rigidity. If he had read the famous Dispensation granted by Benedict XIV to "King James the Third" (almost a volume in itself) he might have altered his mind. But he deeply impressed me as a great and self-denying hero, and confessor of the Faith. Most men would have been even then broken, as he ultimately was, by the persecution he had undergone. He was the very type of man that Horace had in mind when he said :—

> Iustum et tenacem propositi virum
> Non civium ardor prava iubentium,
> Non voltus instantis tyranni
> Mente quatit solida neque Auster,
> Dux inquieti turbidus Hadriæ,
> Nec fulminantis magna manus Iovis;
> Si fractis inlabatur orbis,
> Inpavidum ferient ruinæ.[1]
>
> Horace, Odes III. 3.

## Debate in House of Commons.

Whilst I was in London I saw Mr. Beresford Hope and we re-discussed the issue of the Derby meeting on the South African Church question. I had known him as a boy, in the days when my father brought to his notice the village lad who was afterwards known as James Redfern, the sculptor. He took me to hear a debate in the House of Commons. I heard Mr. Gladstone's oratory, but the rest of the speeches did not impress me. I thought Sir W. Harcourt had an insufferable "Parliamentary manner". My general impression of the House of Commons was that it was an

[1] For the benefit of those who may be a little *behindhand* with their Horace, I venture to append Lord Lytton's translation :

> Not the rage of the million commanding things evil,
> Not the doom frowning near in the brows of the tyrant,
> Shakes the upright and resolute man
> In his solid completeness of soul.—Ed.

overburdened assembly, quite unfit to deal with the affairs of the wide-flung territories of our Empire. The Empire was too large and the men too small. Fortunately, Indian affairs are practically left in the hands of a small number of experts. The Self-Governing Dominions are responsible for their own affairs and the Crown Colonies are dealt with, practically, by the permanent officials of the Colonial Office. So that the power for mischief in the House of Commons is considerably modified.

Naturally, I regarded the British Parliament from the point of view of a Colonist who had not forgotten Majuba.

We returned to South Africa at the end of 1882, and I found I had been elected, as one of the six clerical representatives of the Diocese of Grahamstown, to sit in the memorable Provincial Synod of January, 1883. I felt ready for the work, since my chief anxiety was relieved, as my wife's health had been wonderfully improved by our visit to England.

## The Provincial Synod of 1883.

The Provincial Synod met at Capetown, and the question of the Proviso overshadowed all minor issues. A formidable opposition in favour of repealing the Proviso had been organised by Archdeacons Badnall and Fogg with some influential clergy and laity of the Cape Diocese. The Bishops of the Province, headed by the veteran Bishop Welby of S. Helena, stood by the Proviso in support of the Metropolitan. It must be borne in mind that the South African Church, in consonance with the Canon Law of Christendom, regards the Bishops of the Province as the true and responsible "Provincial Synod". The House of the Clergy is for counsel and advice to the Bishops, and the House of Laity gives "assent" to the Decrees of the Synod, although it has a conservative power of dissenting from any proposed change

in the Constitution and Canons. It exercised this power of "dissent" in refusing, on a vote by orders, to accept Archdeacon Badnall's proposal to alter the Constitution by repealing the Third Proviso. But if the House of Laity and the House of Clergy had assented to this proposal, the House of Bishops, as the true "Provincial Synod," would have placed their veto upon it, as solely, and ultimately, responsible for the Faith, Doctrines and Discipline of the South African Church, as a Province of the Holy Catholic Church.

This relation of the House of Bishops to the Clerical and Lay Houses must always be borne in mind in considering South African Church matters. The laity with us have no power to deal directly with questions of faith and doctrine.

I was much impressed by the dignified arrangements of this first Provincial Synod in which I sat as a member. The Cathedral altar was screened off by a curtain, and in front of it were the Bishops, in their scarlet chimeres, in a semi-circle, with the Metropolitan in the centre, sitting in the historic Chair of Robert Gray with the Metropolitical Cross in its place beside him. The Cross was historic, as it was presented to Bishop Gray by Mr. Beresford Hope and others at the Wolverhampton Church Congress in the midst of the strain and stress of the Colenso conflict. According to ancient usage, upon a desk before our Metropolitan was the Book of the Gospels which was opened each day when the Synod opened, and closed at the end of each Session. The House of Clergy and their Prolocutor occupied the Choir of the Cathedral, and the House of Laity sat outside the screen, in the Nave.

### The Debate on the Third Proviso.

Archdeacon Badnall moved the repeal of the Proviso in a speech of five hours' duration, mercifully sundered in the

midst by the rising of the Synod for the midday interval. Archdeacon Fogg seconded the motion in a frankly Erastian speech, in which he claimed Laud and Jeremy Taylor as Erastians pure and simple.

### Its Grave Issues.

Those of us who were defending the Proviso had, at a previous private meeting, arranged amongst ourselves which parts of this difficult and complex subject each of us would deal with. Most able speeches were made by Dean Green (*vide* my "Life of Dean Green," Vol. II), Archdeacon White of Grahamstown, Archdeacon Croghan of Bloemfontein, and Canon Espin of Grahamstown. In the course of his speech Archdeacon White remarked that no Colonial diocese had ever accepted Privy Council decisions in matters of faith and doctrine as authoritative. Archdeacon Badnall interrupted him by saying that the Diocese of Adelaide had done so. I had come to the Synod furnished with copies of all the Canons and Constitutions of the different Colonial Churches. I rose to say that Archdeacon Badnall was in error. I read from the Canons of the Diocese of Adelaide to prove that the Archdeacon's assertion was groundless, and I laid the Canons of the Diocese of Adelaide on the table of the Synod for reference. The Archdeacon's supporters looked somewhat taken aback. It fell to my lot to deal with that part of the subject which proved that the Church of England had never, Synodically or otherwise, assented to the usurped ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Privy Council. It was easy enough to prove this from the action taken, at the time of the Gorham judgment, by the United Episcopate of England in introducing a Bill into the House of Lords to constitute a Spiritual Tribunal of Appeal instead of the Privy Council. I could not help reminding Archdeacon Fogg that Jeremy Taylor was no Erastian. I quoted his words where he says

that "the intrusion of secular judges into spiritual arbitrations is a mischevious heretical trick". "Where did he say that?" interrupted the Archdeacon. I told him, and he subsided.

The Metropolitan made an admirable speech, full of sound learning and sober argument, which had a great influence on the laity. The aged Bishop of S. Helena spoke vehemently against the abolition of the Proviso. So did the other Bishops and so did some of the laity.

### The Lay House Rejects the Erastian Proposal to Abolish the Proviso.

Eventually a vote by orders was taken, which involved, in the first instance, the "assent" or "dissent" of the laity to a proposal to alter the constitution. The motion to abolish the Proviso was lost by a substantial majority in the House of the Laity. We knew quite well that if the laity had accepted it the clergy would have rejected it, and behind them lay the decisive vote of the true "Provincial Synod"—the House of Bishops. But it was a very great satisfaction to all of us that the laity withheld their assent to the abolition of the Proviso. It showed that they had learnt the lesson of preserving our ecclesiastical liberties.

The Synod sat for a fortnight and did much useful work. We joined in its closing "Te Deum" with thankful hearts. The South African Church had been faithful to its trust. The defeated party gave trouble for a time, but the work of the Synod of 1883, in securing the spiritual independence of the South African Church, has been permanent.

## CHAPTER V.

The Basuto War of 1880-81—The Revolt of the Transvaal, and Majuba—Cecil Rhodes—General Gordon—Hofmeyr and the Bond—Ecclesiastical and Political Reminiscences to the end of 1889.

### The Basuto War on the Question of Disarmament.

Once more I must pick up the tangled skein of our story after the recall of Sir Bartle Frere. My own impressions of it are just as vivid now as they were at the time. In September, 1880, the Cape Colony was once more faced with a serious Native war, which was ultimately barren of results and cost the Colony three millions of money. The Sprigg Ministry, with the sympathy and support of Colonists generally, passed an Act to disarm the Natives after the Kafir War of 1877. The Act was enforced without much difficulty in the Transkeian territory, but it was a very different matter to enforce it in Basutoland. The Basutos had been welded into a military nation for some forty years by the astuteness of Moshesh, the Paramount Chief, who was a man of remarkable political genius. His was an instance of the gifts of government and organisation which South African Natives undoubtedly possess. He did not set up a blood-stained tyranny like Chaka, Cetewayo, or Lo Bengula. He welded his people together by diplomacy and leadership, and made a nation out of the fragments of broken tribes who fled for refuge from Moselikatze to the Basutoland mountains in the early "thirties".

### Moshesh and Sir G. Cathcart in 1852.

Sir George Cathcart, the unfortunate Governor of the Cape, who was killed at Inkerman in 1854, tried conclusions with Moshesh in 1852, and got badly beaten in the battle of the Berea. The 12th Lancers suffered severely and Sir George and his Staff narrowly escaped capture. The morning after the battle Moshesh sent a letter to Sir George, in which he was too diplomatic to boast of his victory. He said, "You have shown your power; we have been chastised. Let it be enough, I pray you". Sir George rapidly concluded peace. He was only too thankful to extricate his troops from further defeat, and to be able to show Moshesh's letter as an excuse for his withdrawal.

### Moshesh and the Free State.

Some years after this episode Moshesh got involved in a quarrel with the Orange Free State, and Sir Philip Wodehouse, the Governor of the Cape, relieved the situation by proclaiming Basutoland British territory in 1868.

### The Annexation of Basutoland.

Moshesh wrote a message asking to be permitted to live "under the large folds of the Flag of England," but he did not mean to allow his own authority to be diminished. He considered himself to be in the same position as the Princes of the independent Native States in India, and he meant to keep Basutoland for the Basutos. He admitted a British Resident, appointed by the Cape Government, and for some time there was peace and order in Basutoland. After the death of Moshesh, his successor lacked his governing powers.

In an evil moment the Sprigg Ministry tried to enforce the Disarmament Act on the Basutos. The result was war, which

cost the Cape Colony money we could ill afford and many valuable lives.

### The Basuto War was Virtually a Drawn Game.

The Colony put 18,000 men into the field and fought without any Imperial aid, whilst rash speeches of sympathy with the Basutos, from agitators in England, strengthened them in their resistance. Early in the war, a body of mounted Basutos charged home with their battle axes and defeated the Grahamstown Yeomanry. Their Adjutant (afterwards well known as Colonel Dalgety, the brave defender of Wepener in the Boer War) told me the whole story. The Yeomanry were taken by surprise and over thirty were killed in a few minutes. Dalgety escaped by using his clubbed carbine and by being mounted on a powerful charger. The defeat put Grahamstown into mourning. The Basutos suffered severely in several subsequent actions. On one occasion their mounted men charged the Colonial Infantry in the open and lost heavily. The Colonial troops behaved with great steadiness and gallantry in this unsuccessful campaign. One of the Officers won the Victoria Cross, which was at that time first opened to the Colonial as well as the Imperial Forces. I had to arrange for all the Chaplains' duties in this campaign, as Senior Chaplain to the Colonial Forces, although I could not go myself owing to the impossibility of getting a *locum tenens* for my work in Port Elizabeth. But I managed to arrange for the work to be done satisfactorily. We put into the field a detachment of Cape Colony Dutchmen, who were just then politically excited with the imminence of rebellion in the Transvaal, owing to the recall of Sir Bartle Frere and the blunderings of Wolseley and Lanyon.

### Transvaal Revolt in 1880.

On December 13th, 1880, Kruger raised the standard of revolt, and proclaimed the Republic. As a logical conse-

quence, our Colonial Dutchmen declined to serve any longer in the Basuto Campaign, and we were forced to conclude a peace in which neither side could claim victory.

### Basutoland Administered by the Imperial Government.

The Cape Colony then asked the Imperial Government to relieve them of the administration of Basutoland, and since the final ratification of this change by the Cape Parliament in 1883, Basutoland has been administered from the Colonial Office. There has been no attempt at any government by force. Successive, and it is fair to add, successful, Administrators have been appointed who have advised the Paramount Chief and kept order in the country. Men were chosen, like Sir Godfrey Lagden, who knew the Basutos, and they have been given a free hand by the Colonial Office, with the best possible results. The Basutos have steadily progressed as a nation, and the only future danger lies in their fixed determination to keep white men, and especially prospectors for minerals, out of the country. The least South Africa can do for the Basutos is to respect their independence, coupled, as it is, with loyalty to the Flag of the Empire. Missionaries have done and are doing excellent work in Basutoland. The Church has a good hold under Bishop Balfour, our Missionary Assistant Bishop for Basutoland. The French Missionaries have also done good work, and so have the Roman Catholics, who have made a convert of the present Paramount Chief. The "Pitso" or National Council of the Basuto people, assembles yearly and passes Ordinances, which are subsequently sanctioned at the discretion of the High Commissioner and the Imperial Resident of Basutoland.

### Resignation of Sprigg Ministry.

The Basuto War caused the resignation of the Sprigg Ministry. The Afrikander Bond was developed by Mr.

Hofmeyr, out of the existing Farmers' Associations, into a political machine of wonderful power and organisation. The awakening of the Dutch national spirit, which was the outcome of Mr. Froude's rash oratory in 1875, was a good thing in itself, if it had not developed on anti-British and racial lines. The South African Dutch had no such grievances as the Irish Nationalists had. But they exploited such grievances as they had with a Teutonic doggedness, which was blended with the fervour of the Huguenot strain in their race. The memories of the Downing Street blunders that were the moving force of the "Great Trek" in the "thirties," which founded the Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, and their aspirations for a "United South Africa" under their own flag, led them into two parallel movements.

### Hofmeyr forms the Scanlen Ministry.

Mr. Hofmeyr believed in "constitutional methods". His ideal was a virtually independent South Africa, ruled entirely by its Dutch majority, and yet in such an alliance with England as would guarantee to our coasts the protection of the British Fleet against possible aggression from any European Power. He was an able and clear-sighted statesman and was opposed to the "physical force" policy of Kruger and his Transvaal entourage. I knew him well. In his heart of hearts he knew that South Africa could not stand alone. He controlled the wilder spirits of the Afrikander Bond and caused them to keep their idea of "an independent South African flag" in the background. He made the Bond pass loyal resolutions to Queen Victoria, and kept on good personal terms with the High Commissioner. But he was determined to guide the policy of South Africa. He had no leading men in his own Party capable of forming a Ministry, so he used British politicians, like Mr. Merriman, who had a personal grievance against the Sprigg Ministry, since Sir Bartle Frere put it in

office in succession to the Molteno-Merriman Cabinet which he dismissed. Out of these materials Mr. Hofmeyr formed the Scanlen Cabinet, in which he took office himself as "Minister without Portfolio".

### The Majuba Surrender was not Dictated by Magnanimity.

The new Ministry took office on the crest of the wave of Afrikander triumph on account of the Gladstone surrender after Majuba.

The story is too well known to repeat in detail. Lord Kimberley told England at the opening of the Boer War in 1899, that he and his colleagues of the Gladstone Ministry in 1881 did not yield to Kruger on grounds of "magnanimity," as was so loudly said at the time. The Majuba surrender, as Lord Kimberley said, was the direct outcome of the action of President Brand of the Free State, who said that if peace were not made at once he could no longer hold the Free State back from declaring war on England—a step which would have been obviously followed by the revolt of most of the Cape Dutch. At the time no one in South Africa believed in the "magnanimity" theory, least of all the victorious Dutchmen, who lost no possible opportunities of humiliating the South African British. The iron entered into our souls. I can never forget those bygone miserable days. When Kruger proclaimed the Republic at the close of 1880, the prevailing feeling of British South Africans was contemptuous disgust at the ineptitudes and follies of British Administration in the Transvaal.

### The Wolseley and Lanyon Blunders.

When Wolseley told a great gathering of Boers that the British Flag would remain in Pretoria as long as the sun rose and set in the heavens, his hearers were not in the least

impressed by his oratorical simile. When Lanyon talked about enforcing "the law" by military force, the Boers knew that they held the small Transvaal garrisons in the hollow of their hand.

### Wolseley and Joubert.

Sir Garnet Wolseley met Joubert, after he had made his miserable Zulu settlement, with its thirteen "kinglets". Joubert spoke strongly to Sir Garnet about the retrocession of the Transvaal. Sir Garnet replied that England was not greedy of territory, *because he had just given Zululand back to the Zulus*, after conquering Zululand. Joubert promptly seized the opening for a smart rejoinder. "You English give back Zululand to the savage and uncivilised Zulus, but you refuse to give back the Transvaal to Christian and civilised white men. Your restoration of Zululand, whilst you refuse to restore the Transvaal to the Boers, is an additional insult to us." When Joubert spoke to this effect it is recorded that Sir Garnet realised that he had made a serious blunder in alluding to Zululand at all. But this was but a microscopic ineptitude in comparison with the other blunders and follies committed by the Wolseley-Lanyon Administration of the Transvaal.

The last chance of a peaceful settlement had vanished when Sir Bartle Frere was recalled. But British South Africans had an idea that Gladstone would make good his final dispatch to Kruger, in which he said that the British Flag would remain in the Transvaal and that no restoration of the Republic was possible. We could not believe that the Premier of Great Britain would recede from his pledged and published words.

### Bronkhorst Spruit.

Our first news was of the Bronkhorst Spruit disaster, when Colonel Anstruther and the Headquarters of the 94th were

cut to pieces *en route* to Pretoria. The Boer Commander sent a flag of truce to the Colonel, and told him that the Republic would not allow British troops to leave their existing stations in the Transvaal. Naturally, the Colonel refused to turn back, and, in a very few minutes, fifty-five men were killed, and seven officers and ninety-one men wounded. Colonel Anstruther was mortally wounded, and died shortly after his surrender. A travel-worn, haggard and exhausted man, Conductor Egerton, found his way to Pretoria with the colours of the regiment wound round his body. The Boers behaved with great humanity to the wounded. Sir George Colley (Wolseley's successor as High Commissioner), Governor of Natal, and a General of conspicuous military ability, took the field in person to relieve the besieged Transvaal garrisons.

### Joubert Invades Natal.

But General Joubert, the Boer Commander, anticipated him by invading Natal and occupying the strong defensive position of Laing's Nek. This invasion of British territory made us all wonder what was going to happen next.

### Defeat of Laing's Nek and Ingogo.

We knew all too soon. We heard with amazement of the defeats of Laing's Nek and Ingogo, whilst we were cheered by the knowledge that the small garrisons of Lydenburg, Potchefstroom and Standerton were holding their own.

### Siege of Pretoria.

At Pretoria the garrison was aided by the British citizens, who served as Volunteers and raised a useful force called the "Pretoria Carabineers," of which Sir Rider Haggard,

then in the British Civil Service of the Transvaal, was Adjutant.

### Majuba, and Death of Sir G. Colley.

On February 27th, 1881, Sir George Colley, by a well-planned march on the previous night, occupied the precipitous heights of the Majuba mountain, which outflanked and commanded the Boer position at Laing's Nek. Joubert saw at once that unless he could turn the British off Majuba he must retreat as quickly as possible. Sir George had about 400 men with him on Majuba that morning, many of them veterans, who had been decorated for that wonderful march of Roberts on Candahar. There was a small Naval Brigade as well, and Sir George signalled his success to be cabled to London, which was also wired all over South Africa. The morning's news cheered us all up when we heard it. We all thought Sir George was going to redeem his former failures. But late in the afternoon I went into the town and saw the Town Hall flag flying half-mast. I knew by instinct that something terrible had happened. I rushed off to get the news and heard how the Boers had climbed the precipitous mountain side and gained the plateau at the top of Majuba, almost before our men were aware of the attack. They poured in a hot and deadly fire upon our surprised troops, who made but a feeble response. Sir George did his best to rally them, but his efforts were useless. He died as a gallant soldier should, with his face to the foe, a pathetic and solitary figure, deserted by all his men, who fled, panic-stricken, down the mountain side, with heavy loss from the accurate fire of the storming party of Boers, who were inferior to them in numbers and who only lost one man killed and five wounded in their successful attempt to storm a position well deemed impregnable when defended by 400 picked British troops and bluejackets.

LORD ROBERTS AT PAARDEBERG ON MAJUBA DAY, 1900.

Isandhlwana was a bitter memory of defeat, lightened only by the story of 600 brave men who died fighting with their faces towards the foe. Majuba was a disgrace to British arms, which bit like corrosive acid into the heart of every British South African. The army and the whole Empire felt the disgrace in a lesser measure, and Lord Roberts gauged its true importance nineteen years afterwards when he alluded in his dispatch announcing the surrender of Cronje (the traitor of Potchefstroom and the capturer of Jameson) with 4000 Boers at Paardeberg on February 27th (Majuba Day), 1900, as at length wiping out the bitter memory of Majuba from the annals of the Empire.

One must admit that it was a brilliant feat of arms on the part of the Boers, of which they are justly proud. But when President Kruger proclaimed the anniversary of Majuba as a public holiday in the Transvaal, and forced the large British population at Johannesburg and other Transvaal towns to observe it by closing their places of business, the sore was left open. The bitter memory of Majuba was one of the efficient causes of the Boer War of 1899.

The word "Majuba" became a common taunt for a Boer to fling at an Englishman, if they quarrelled, during that long interval between 1881 and 1900. We never hear it mentioned now. Paardeberg is remembered instead of Majuba by Englishmen, and both races in the Union of South Africa are trying to forget the bitter past. The most evil legacy of Majuba was the utter contempt for the British army and for everything British which filled the minds of the Boers. I remember that the State Secretary of the Transvaal said, "God help poor Tommy!" when war was declared in 1899. The war restored that mutual respect between Boer and Briton that Majuba had destroyed.

The misery and heart-sickness of British South Africans

when the story of Majuba became known was a little lessened by the fact that we knew Sir Evelyn Wood, with an adequate force, was within striking distance of the victorious Boers. And then we heard that Lord Roberts (then Sir F. Roberts), the hero of Candahar, was appointed to succeed Sir G. Colley as Commander-in-Chief and Governor of Natal. Afterwards there came a pause.

### Sir E. Wood Forced to Make Peace After Majuba.

We heard that Sir Evelyn Wood had arranged an armistice with the Boers. What could it mean? Those who have read Sir Evelyn's fascinating autobiography know full well what it meant to that gallant soldier and the troops under his command. We held our breaths in suspense.

It was unthinkable that the Gladstone Government would yield to the victorious Boers what had been refused in answer to petitions for independence sent in before the revolt.

If we South Africans had realised that it was cowardice and not magnanimity (as Lord Kimberley subsequently made known) that caused this abject and ignominious surrender to the Boer demands, I believe we should have taken up arms against the Boers on our own account. But we did not know, when the unthinkable actually came to pass. I, for one, hoped for some solution that would have saved the honour of the British Flag. But my hopes were vain. I had a private wire from the Cape Premier, telling me of the "peace with dishonour" that had been concluded by the Gladstone Government. I took the telegram to the British Officer in charge of "re-mounts" at Port Elizabeth, who had been working hard to supply Sir Evelyn Wood's demands for horses. When he read it he looked a stricken man and relieved his feelings by using some very lurid language, for which he apologised as soon as he got his breath. At the back of my mind I felt that his eloquence hardly needed an

apology. He afterwards became a distinguished General Officer. For several years after Majuba I felt miserable at the sight of the Union Jack. The Flag of the Empire was so dishonoured in the thoughts of an average British South African that one had rather turn away than look at it.

### Effect of Majuba on the Army.

When I went to England in 1882, on board the steamer there was a considerable body of troops who were returning from Natal. I acted as Chaplain, and I shall never forget the bitterness of the rank and file. The officers said little, but the men were crushed. Their *morale* had gone. The shadow of Majuba was upon them. British South Africans are not an emotional people. We were amazed during the Boer War when we heard that London had gone mad when Mafeking was relieved. But after Majuba things were said and done which showed that we had been stirred to the very depths. A few days after the false "Peace," which we all knew was no *real* peace, was signed, I saw the people of Port Elizabeth stirred as I have never seen them stirred before or since, save, perhaps, in the anti-German riots of 1915. In after years I have seen our people cheer Baden Powell after the city presented him with a sword of honour. I have seen them welcome the Duke of Connaught, and welcome Chamberlain and Cecil Rhodes, with an enthusiasm of joy. The enthusiasm of hate and despair is an ugly thing to see. The Pretoria British had seen the Flag hauled down and the Boer "Vierkleur" run up in its place. They made a solemn procession and buried the British Flag.

Joubert, although he opposed Kruger's war policy in after days, had said at the Peace negotiations to Sir Evelyn Wood that it would not be a lasting peace, for the Boers meant to have South Africa to themselves. We, too, knew that the Majuba surrender meant a terrible war in the future, or, as the alternative, the loss of South Africa to the Empire.

### Port Elizabeth Burns Gladstone's Effigy.

The Port Elizabeth people did not bury the Flag, for it still flew over us, disgraced as it had been by the surrender. But the Port Elizabeth people burnt Gladstone in effigy. I saw the crowd, fierce with suppressed passion, carrying the effigy of the Prime Minister of Great Britain, and burning it with yells of execration. Henceforth the British people of South Africa were silent with the silence of despair, the silence of a minority, with no answer to make to a triumphant majority, who held us in contempt. We were powerless, politically, in the Cape Parliament. The loyalists of the Transvaal were ruined, and no one could help. If, instead of the ignominious surrender, Sir Evelyn Wood had been allowed to attack, and keep things going till the arrival of Sir F. Roberts, who would have had plenty of reinforcements, 20,000 troops would have sufficed to show the Transvaalers that they were not going to haul down the British Flag in 1881. It took 200,000 troops between 1899 and 1902 to do the work which could so easily have been done in 1881.

When Sir F. Roberts landed at Capetown with his Staff in 1881, he was curtly ordered back to England by the next steamer. He felt the blow bitterly, as the miserable "Peace" was concluded whilst he was on the water. It was strange indeed that the veteran Field-Marshal, Lord Roberts, should land once more at Capetown in 1900 to complete the work he was not even allowed to begin in 1881. The work has been done, and a United South Africa, more wonderful and speedy in its reconstruction by far than America after the Civil War, has been built upon the foundation of the blood and tears of the Great Boer War.

### Lord Roberts at Capetown in 1900.

Lord Roberts made a remarkable speech at Capetown, when he had a public reception on December 10th, 1900,

after the capture of Pretoria and the close of the first chapter of the Boer War. He spoke of his disappointment in being sent out in 1881 on what seemed to be a fool's errand. As a deeply religious man he said that Mr. Gladstone's recalling him in 1881 was the over-ruling act of God. He could have avenged Majuba, but he would have been only a leader of Imperial troops. The war of 1899 had united the forces of the whole Empire, and the veteran soldier said with pride that he was the first British Field-Marshal who had ever led to battle the Imperial and Colonial troops of a United Empire. The cost and losses of the war were, in his opinion, counterbalanced by the great fact that Canadians, Australians, New Zealanders and South Africans had fought side by side with the Imperial troops, as a united army, under his command, and for the first time in history we had fought as a United Empire. This view taken by England's greatest soldier is noteworthy and remarkable.

### General Gordon in South Africa.

When Lord Ripon became Viceroy of India, after the Gladstone Ministry took office, he took General Gordon with him as Private Secretary. He resigned the appointment a day or two after reaching Bombay, because Lord Ripon had asked him to acknowledge a pamphlet received from a leading Parsee, stating that the Viceroy thanked him for sending it, and had read it with interest. But Lord Ripon had not read it, so Gordon declined to write the letter. He immediately resigned and left India. He accepted the post of Commandant-General to the Cape Colonial Forces, and for some little time held the appointment. It was then that he made the acquaintance of Cecil Rhodes.

### Gordon and Rhodes.

The two men, so opposite in temperament, were very much drawn to one another, and when General Gordon left South

Africa he asked Rhodes to go with him to the Soudan. At that time Rhodes, though much drawn to accept the offer from his admiration for Gordon, felt bound to decline, because he had just entered the Scanlen Cabinet as Treasurer-General. Gordon left South Africa rather abruptly. He was not the sort of man to serve a Colony with responsible government. He detested politicians, and, unfortunately, Mr. Sauer, then Minister of Native Affairs at the Cape, was a type of man incapable of assimilating Gordon's high ideals.

### His Difference with the Cape Minister.

The Cabinet asked Gordon to go to Basutoland to pacify the country after the war. He went and made friends with the leading chiefs. But Mr. Sauer went after him and tried to meddle with his arrangements. Friction of an acute nature immediately occurred. One of the leading chiefs had been in close relations with Gordon and Mr. Sauer intervened. General Gordon said that this intervention caused the chief to mistrust him, and endangered his life. He was determined to have a free hand in Basutoland, or throw up his appointment. The Ministry declined to give him a free hand, so he resigned, and South Africa lost the services of a great man and a noble idealist.

I thought much of what he might have done for us (if he had not been driven away from South Africa by politicians unfit to black his boots) when I conducted a Memorial Service for him at S. Mary's, after we heard the news of the fall of Khartoum and the death of a Christian hero who was *sans peur et sans réproche.*

### Cecil Rhodes, His Aims and Character.

I said just previously that he discerned the elements of greatness in Cecil Rhodes. I knew Rhodes well, and shall

have more to say of him hereafter. He came to South Africa in search of health, and after some time in Natal, he went to Kimberley in its early days, and found diamonds. He worked hard and thought hard. He dreamed his dreams of a vast British expansion up to and beyond the Zambesi, but he kept his aspirations to himself until he had power to carry them into effect. Gordon once told him that he had refused a vast sum of money which was offered to him in China. Rhodes replied characteristically that he would not have refused it as Gordon did, for money was of use to carry out his vast schemes. I never knew a man who cared less for money for its own sake. Rhodes was by nature a country gentleman. All his tastes and sympathies were with the farming population. He hated the commercialism of the great towns. He was a financier *malgré lui.*

When he took office in the Scanlen Ministry, he had taken his degree at Oxford. He kept his terms whenever he could spare a few months from his arduous work at Kimberley. At Oxford no one recognised in the self-contained and reserved undergraduate of Oriel a man who had already amassed a considerable fortune, and who was even then dreaming his Imperial dreams. I met a man who was at Oxford with him and knew him slightly. The impression he left upon his contemporaries was that of a shy and thoughtful man, who said little and thought much. If he had gone with Gordon to Khartoum he would have shared his fate, and Rhodesia would not have been added to the Empire, the Cape to Cairo railway would never have been begun and the trans-continental telegraph would never have been seriously considered. Some evil-minded critics have accused Rhodes of being hard and unscrupulous. I never found him so, and the only criticism I would offer upon his life work was that he left too much to his subordinates, who did things in his name for which he afterwards chivalrously bore the blame. He had too many irons in the fire to attend to all the details of his

schemes personally. He gave others the outlines of his great plans, and left them to work them out. It was therefore inevitable that, now and again, his subordinates should act in a manner that made him enemies, who could not realise the loftiness of his aims and the unselfishness of his Empire building. I take the same view of Mr. Rhodes' character and aims that the late Archbishop Alexander of Armagh and Canon Knox-Little did, when they visited South Africa, but my judgment is based upon a personal knowledge of him far more intimate than theirs.

I must make room here for a stirring incident of the year 1882. The whole Empire was profoundly moved by the assassination of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke by the Irish "Invincibles" in Phoenix Park. The arch-plotter Carey turned informer and the Government sent him to South Africa for safety. But the Irish conspirators had doomed him to death and an Irish-American named O'Donnell was sent with him on the voyage to kill him. The murder took place on the *Melrose* some hours before she anchored at Port Elizabeth. Carey's body was brought ashore and buried without any religious ceremony. I was asked to bury him, but as he was a Roman Catholic I referred the authorities to the local R. C. Priest, who declined to bury an "Informer". O'Donnell was landed as a prisoner, and the local Irish were so excited that the Volunteer Infantry were called out to guard the prison by night and by day. I saw O'Donnell tried before the magistrate. He was a truculent-looking individual, and said little in his defence. He had an infernal machine to blow up the ship, if everything else failed. He said in Court, "Sure, it was only an electric machine for me rheumatism," which was ingenious, as the captain of the ship had thrown it overboard when it was brought to him, with the mechanism still ticking. I shall never forget that scene in the Court House, crowded with Irish who looked on O'Donnell as a sort of

hero. The Cape Government felt that the case was not theirs, and sent O'Donnell under escort to England, where he was duly tried and hanged. Carey's grave is in a piece of waste ground outside the Port Elizabeth prison.

In 1883 President Kruger began to feel his feet. He got rid of certain Imperial restrictions upon the Transvaal which had been agreed to after Majuba, and substituted for them the London Convention, which left the Crown a shadowy "Suzerainty," and the Transvaal Republic with (practically) all the powers of an independent State. He cast longing eyes on the territory now known as Rhodesia, and considered it the natural "Hinterland" of the Transvaal. He determined to block Rhodes' schemes of northern expansion, by annexing the territory between Rhodesia and Griqualand West, which is now British Bechuanaland. He furthered this scheme by allowing armed bodies of Boer filibusters to intervene in the quarrels of Native Chiefs, and annex their territories.

### Stellaland and Goshen.

The filibusters formed two republics, Stellaland and Goshen, and for the time being blocked all prospect of our northward expansion. But their arrogant action proved a little too much for the Imperial Government and the High Commissioner.

### Sir Charles Warren's Expedition.

Sir Charles Warren was sent out, with a military expedition, to drive the Boers out of Bechuanaland and annex the territory. It always astonished me that the Boers did not show fight, with the memory of Majuba behind them. But Rhodes went up and interviewed the leaders, at some personal risk to himself. Sir Charles Warren's force was composed of Colonial volunteers as well as regular troops, and the whole

force was full of fight, and longed to wipe out the Majuba disgrace to British arms. The Boers retired without firing a shot, and the short-lived republics were wiped off the map, leaving as their only memorial their issue of postage stamps, which have become rarities of some value to collectors. Port Elizabeth entertained Sir Charles Warren at a public banquet in the Town Hall, at which I was present, when he returned from Bechuanaland. We felt that something had been done to wipe out the stain upon our Flag, and Sir Charles had an enthusiastic reception. He made an excellent speech, which heartened us all up. The two Boer villages, which formed the tiny capitals of the suppressed republics, became better known as Vryburg and Mafeking, and rapidly grew in importance when Rhodes pushed his railway through them some years afterwards.

### Sir John Kirk.

About this time I met Sir John Kirk, the famous British Consul-General at Zanzibar, who worked with Livingstone in his earlier explorations, and did so much to put down the East African Slave trade. He had vacated his post at Zanzibar, and was passing through Port Elizabeth. Lord Salisbury had just given Heligoland to Germany as an exchange for a supposed "Protectorate" which Bismarck had forced upon the Sultan of Zanzibar. It was an act of consummate folly, as the Empire now knows to its cost. Sir John was most indignant about the whole business. He told me sorrowfully that the Government had disregarded all his protestations, and I remember his quoting, with some bitterness, Bismarck's remark upon Lord Salisbury, that he was "a *wooden* lath, painted to resemble *iron*".

### Bishop Webb Elected to the See of Grahamstown.

To look back for a moment to matters ecclesiastical, the Diocese of Grahamstown elected Bishop Webb, of Bloem-

fontein, as successor to Bishop Merriman, on March 7th, 1883. It was the first time in which I took part in an Elective Assembly, and it made me realise vividly the ordered freedom of the South African Church. The ancient rule is always followed that the clergy elect their Chief Pastor, and then the laity (each of whom is elected by the communicants of his parish) give their formal assent, or the contrary, to the name chosen by the clergy. The laity cannot propose a name themselves, but their right to dissent from the name chosen by the clergy is based upon the old Canon Law maxim, "Nemo detur invitis".

The election of Bishop Webb was practically unanimous in both Houses. We were bound to elect a Bishop who could deal with the difficulties of the schism in Grahamstown, which had been created by the Privy Council judgment. We could not look to England for a Bishop and we were fortunate in electing a Bishop of thirteen years' colonial experience, who also possessed great gifts of leadership and organisation.

## Death of Dr. Colenso.

In 1883 Dr. Colenso died, and some of us hoped that the Natal schism would thereby be ended. But unhappily this was not the case. The Colenso party were relieved, by their leader's death, from the odium which his line on the Zulu question had caused. They were also able to dissever themselves from any sympathy with his doctrinal errors, and adopt an entirely new standpoint of "Erastianism" pure and simple. They declared their acceptance of the doctrinal decisions of the Privy Council, and based their continued separation from the rest of the English Church in South Africa upon a fictitious adherence to the Protestant party in the Church of England. They both took up practically the same position as that of the schismatic *soi-disant* "Church

of England" congregations in Scotland, who refused to admit the jurisdiction of the Scottish Bishops, some sixty years ago.

### The Upington Ministry.

The acceptance of office by Mr. Rhodes in the Scanlen Ministry did not save it from defeat, when Mr. Hofmeyr and the Afrikander Bond decided that it had lasted long enough. Sir Thomas Upington, a brilliant Irish barrister who had been Attorney-General in the Sprigg Cabinet, took office with Bond support. It was a cat and mouse business. Sometimes Mr. Hofmeyr allowed the Cabinet a little freedom to save their faces, but any tangible manifestations of independence were rigorously checked.

### Mr. Hofmeyr and the Bond.

It was about this time that I made Mr. Hofmeyr's acquaintance. He was a strong man, and dominated his following with a strong hand. The story goes that two of the Dutch members who understood little English went fast asleep in the course of a debate, and were wakened by the sound of the division bell. "How shall we vote?" said one to the other. "Look and see which way 'Onze Jan' votes," replied the other. And so they did. But this sort of thing did not quite fit "Onze Jan's" ideals. He wished to turn the apathetic Dutchman into a keen and intelligent politician, able to understand his policy, and to follow him with an obedience not void of understanding.

### Dutch Allowed in the Cape Parliament.

English was the official language of the Cape Colony. Mr. Hofmeyr determined to alter this, and to make the Cape

Parliament bi-lingual, in order that his followers could take their full share in the debates. It was reasonable enough, and he carried his point, but the British element inwardly resented it, because it seemed to them the beginning of Dutch political ascendancy. Of course it was, and equally, of course, the British minority in South Africa have had to submit to the Dutch majority in a country under Responsible Government, where racial division counts for so much. A good many of the British members of Parliament did not understand Dutch, and had to make the best of the situation. I had a controversy with President Reitz of the Free State some years before this change took place, upon Cape Dutch as a language. I am sorry I got on his nerves by calling "Cape Dutch" a "barbarous patois". I should not do so now, for, after all, it is racy of the soil, and it is better fitted for our people than the Dutch of Holland, which has been introduced, in a simplified form, in Government Schools and in Government documents. Cape Dutch, or the "Taal," is capable of being reduced to grammatical forms, some of which are special to itself, and it will always be the mother tongue of the South African Dutchman. It is less guttural than the Dutch of Holland, and in the use of the "double negative," and other turns of speech it is reminiscent of the French of the Huguenot emigrants of the seventeenth century, whose descendants form so important an element in the older population of South Africa. But it has very little literature of its own, and my chief argument, in reply to President Reitz, was that if he had only known the "Taal" he would not have been called to the Bar and raised to the Bench, as he was Chief Justice of the Free State before he became President. He did not answer this part of my argument.

The Dutch were enthusiastic over their victory in winning the right for Dutch-speaking members of Parliament to use their own language in debate. They put up an allegorical

statue to the "Taal" in Burghersdorp, a strong centre of Bond influence in the Eastern Province. Most of the broad-minded British, whose ideal it was to follow Rhodes in uniting the two white races of South Africa in the bonds of a common nationality, rejoiced at the removal of a distinct grievance from our Dutch-speaking fellow citizens.

On S. Cuthbert's Day, 1884, I was able to open the new district church of S. Cuthbert, which has now become the centre of a new parish in Port Elizabeth. I began to collect funds for it at the Derby Church Congress of 1882 and I gathered about £500 in England. The rest of the money was raised in South Africa. The Reredos contains five panel pictures of Bishops, with Bishop Gray as the central figure. I painted this Reredos myself and I am told that the work was fairly good of its kind.

### Appointment as Rural Dean in 1884.

In 1884 Bishop Webb appointed me Rural Dean of Port Elizabeth with a vast district to cover, virtually as assistant to Archdeacon White, who was not strong enough to travel long distances. I was able to help forward the starting of Church work at Naauwpoort Junction and at De Aar (names afterwards well known during the Boer War), and I arranged for the building of new churches at Hopetown and Richmond. When the Kimberley Railway was opened I combined a visit to that town with one of these journeys. I little thought then, as I passed Belmont, Graspan, and Modder River, that those names would become famous as the scenes of hard fought battles in the Boer War. I remember very well passing the rugged hills where Magersfontein was fought. In those days De Beer's Mine was still the scene of open working. This vast chasm was once the site of a fair sized hill known as the "De Beers Kopje". The *hill* was made a *plain* and the plain became a huge excavation, as the

"blue ground" was dug out and carted away to yield its wonderful daily output of diamands. The open workings are now succeeded by shafts of considerable depth, out of which the diamondiferous soil is mined. Rhodes sent the women and children down these shafts when the Boer shells began to be troublesome during the siege of Kimberley.

### Kimberley Railway Opened.

Sir Hercules Robinson, the Governor and High Commissioner, came up to open the railway. The open workings were illuminated in his honour on the night I arrived. I shall never forget the wondrous sight of that huge crater, in which, in the day time, I had seen men working like ants, glittering and glowing with thousands of lights, defining its edges and lighting up the mysteries of its depths and shadows. It was absolutely unique, and nothing like it has been seen before or since.

There was a public luncheon in honour of the opening of the railway. A local magnate was deputed to read a long batch of congratulatory telegrams, but when he came to telegrams from the judges he got rather mixed. The missive of the Chief Justice was plain sailing enough but when it came to Mr. Justice So-and-so, described as "Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court," and other judges similarly entitled, the good gentleman hesitated and said "Judge——*Pewisney*" Judge of the Supreme Court, and so on—repeating his "Pewisney" four or five times. People began to smile aloud, and he could not see where the joke came in.

### Colonel Schermbrucker.

But there was a still more funny incident at that luncheon. The Cape Minister for Railways at that time was Colonel Schermbrucker, a genial old soldier of the German Legion of

Crimean days, a number of the members of which became soldier-settlers on the Cape Frontier. He had worked his way up by Frontier wars, newspaper editing and politics, till he became a Cabinet Minister. At a public meeting someone called the versatile Colonel a "political adventurer". "Why not?" he cried, "We are all adventuring to find fortunes in South Africa. I am quite a successful adventurer. I came as a poor officer of the German Legion, and now I am a Minister of the Crown." The meeting roared with laughter, for the old Colonel was popular from his general *bonhomie* and imperturbable *sang froid*. There had been rumours of serious disagreements between Sir Hercules and his Cabinet, and it fell to the Colonel's lot to propose His Excellency's health. Sir Hercules was a very stately personage with somewhat frigid manners. The Colonel was bubbling over with irrepressible humour, which was rendered more piquant by a German accent redolent of "Hans Breitmann". After some complimentary sentences, to our amazement he began to allude to these Cabinet differences with His Excellency, which were matters of rumour only, considered too private to be mentioned in the Public Press. With a genial smile he stretched across the Chairman, and vigorously shook hands with Sir Hercules, saying, "Your Excellency, I take your handt to show dese beople dat dese leedle differences between de Governor and zie Gabinet are ofver". The discomfited embarrassment of Sir Hercules, and his vain attempt to look as if he liked it, were too much for all of us. We shook with laughter.

### Archdeacon Croghan.

I was very much struck with the life and energy of Church work in Kimberley. My dear friend Bishop Gaul, then Canon of Bloemfontein, was the inspiring centre of it all. At the Rectory I met Archdeacon Croghan, who was afterwards Dean of Grahamstown. We were discussing the

ritual of the marriage service. The Archdeacon, who was an ascetic-looking priest, with a remarkable resemblance to Cardinal Manning, told us that he valued the ancient custom of the priest kissing the bride in the vestry. I think he said that it was the use in the Irish Church, paralleled by the custom of the Viceregal Court at Dublin where the Lord Lieutenant kisses all the *débutantes* who are presented for the first time. One of us asked the Archdeacon whether he observed the custom when he married Kafirs and coloured people. He gallantly replied, "I make no exceptions. I kiss them *all*."

### Dean Green and the Kiss of Peace.

This brings to my mind a curious custom which Dean Green observed at the installation of a Canon in Maritzburg Cathedral. He revived the mediæval use of the Dean giving the newly-installed Canon the "Kiss of Peace". I remember an extremely insular and typically stiff English parson, who had not been very long in Natal, being elected Canon. Someone present told me that his face was a study when the dear old Dean kissed him as he installed him in the Chapter-House. Englishmen are less spontaneous in kissing each other than our neighbours on the Continent.

### Death of Dean Williams of Grahamstown and Restoration of Diocesan Unity.

In 1885 Dean Williams of Grahamstown died. His death proved more helpful to unity than Dr. Colenso's, for Bishop Webb immediately began to negotiate with the Cathedral vestry with a view to the termination of the unhappy schism which had temporily united the Cathedral with the Colensoites. The negotiations peacefully terminated in a *concordat* which ended the schism and restored the Cathedral to the

diocese. The lay supporters of Dean Williams were thankful to be restored to unity with their fellow-churchmen, and the Bishop showed admirable tact and statesmanship in putting an end to an extremely difficult situation.

### Archdeacon Croghan becomes Dean of Grahamstown.

Archdeacon Croghan of Bloemfontein, who was a close personal friend of the Bishop, and who also was an extremely able man, became Dean of Grahamstown. Like his predecessor he was a brilliant Irishman, but poles asunder from him in all matters ecclesiastical. He was able to re-model the Cathedral services on Catholic lines, and to introduce the Eucharistic Vestments, without offending anyone. The South African laity are readily influenced by a strong personality, whom they believe to be an earnest, sincere and good man. They are free from the unreasoning Protestant prejudices which have obtained such a hold in England.

Cardinal Newman defined "prejudice" as "the forming of an opinion without sufficient grounds". Our South African laity have better manners than the type of English layman represented by the Kensit faction and the Wyckliffe preachers. It would never occur to them to disturb Divine service, or insult clergy publicly as some of the baser sort of English Protestants do. It is not because they are less interested in Church matters than the militant Protestants in England. It is because they live in a greater spaciousness of life, and have their intelligence more keenly developed by a wider outlook and broader interests. In a word, they are less "*prejudiced,*" and are willing to give a patient hearing to new ideas and fuller information. The Grahamstown Cathedral laity were no exception to this rule. They followed Dean Williams into schism because of his clever special pleading and specious arguments that the South African Church was itself in schism from the Church of England.

They followed Bishop Webb and Dean Croghan from schism into the unity of the Church as soon as they received clearer information upon the true position of the South African Church. They were ready to learn from men whom they believed to be good and true, and whom they rightly considered were capable of giving them a more accurate view of the points at issue than Dean Williams had done. Grahamstown Cathedral is now a strong centre of Church life and work. Dean Croghan's tenure of office was all too short, for he was an invalid when he accepted office. The Dublin graduates resident in South Africa petitioned their University to grant Dean Croghan his Doctor's degree, which was immediately conferred with a remission of all fees, as a recognition by his own *Alma Mater* of the Dean's great work in South Africa as a Canonist, a Theologian and an Administrator. Grahamstown deeply regretted the Dean's enforced resignation, which was soon followed by his death. He had a caustic wit. I well remember his being assailed one day by a voluble Irish lady who was an enthusiastic Home Ruler. She poured forth a flood of patriotism upon the imperturbable Dean, who, like most Irishmen of his type, was an ardent Unionist, much as he disliked the Orange Protestantism of Ulster. He turned to her and said "My dear young lady, ye're like most Irish patriots. Ye've come to South Africa to live. Ye would die for your distressful country, but ye won't *live* in it." There was silence. One day he had been much annoyed with the tactless folly of one of the younger clergy. He said to me, "I can deal with a downright wicked man. I know where I am. But the Lord deliver me from a fool!" He was most conciliatory and patient with obstinacy and prejudice, but sheer folly and tactlessness moved him to a scathing outpouring of wrath. In the early "seventies" a layman tried to get up a debate on "Ritualism" in the Bloemfontein Synod. He was very ill-informed and moved a resolution that the procedure of the new "Public

Worship Regulation Act" (by which Disraeli claimed to suppress "the Mass in masquerade") should be applied in the Bloemfontein Diocese. Instead of tackling him, Archdeacon Croghan (as he then was) very quietly asked him if he had a copy of the Act to lay on the table of the Synod. Of course he had not got it, and knew nothing about it, save what he had picked up from newspapers. Archdeacon Croghan, with a lenient smile, told him that he had better withdraw his resolution since the Synod could not possibly debate about an Act whose terms were not officially before it. The layman in question withdrew his resolution and the debate on ritual was very quietly squashed. The sequel is worth recording. The layman in question began to *think* and very soon recovered from his attack of militant Protestantism. His recovery was so complete that he offered himself as a candidate for Holy Orders, and, after his ordination, became a most useful and devoted missionary to the natives.

## German South West Africa and Walfisch Bay.

South African politics in 1885 and 1886 drifted from bad to worse, as the Upington-Sprigg Cabinet had no initiative and had to carry out the instructions of the Bond leader, Mr. Hofmeyr. One good thing was accomplished. The natural "Hinterland" of the Cape Colony was the territory that was called "German" South West Africa before Botha conquered it in 1915. The British flag ought to have gone up in that territory, even if it were considered a worthless acquisition, rather than let so large a slice of South Africa go a-begging. One Luderitz, a German trader, landed in the territory one fine morning, put up the German flag, and called it "Luderitz-land". The Cape Ministry did their best to save the situation but Lord Derby was then Colonial Secretary. He was an unimaginative person who desired to limit England's imperial responsibility and carefully did nothing

but write meaningless dispatches on the subject. The Cape Ministry then acted on their own responsibility. There was only one decent harbour in the territory, Walfisch Bay, which was the resort of sealers, and a stray merchant vessel now and again. The Cape Government sent a steamer with a magistrate and a handful of police to Walfisch Bay. He put up the flag and annexed the harbour with the surrounding territory. The Colonial Office in London did not venture to cancel the act of the Cape Government. So Walfisch Bay, and a *rayon* of twenty miles all round it, became British territory. The Germans were very angry at the action of the Cape Government. They have developed South West Africa very considerably. They have found out that it is by no means the worthless territory which Lord Derby thought it was. They had a considerable garrison till it surrendered in 1915, and several hundred miles of strategical railways. They have discovered diamonds there, and also Hottentots who can ride and shoot and were able to baffle and vex the German garrison for over two years with a skilful guerilla warfare, which made German officers sympathise with our difficulties in dealing with the elusive and mobile Boer forces in the War of 1899-1902. On one occasion the Hottentots captured a convoy and drove a German column across the Cape Colony frontier line. The Cape police disarmed the German troops, and allowed them passage through our territories till they reached a port where we allowed them to embark, and returned them their arms. The Germans were very angry about it but the conduct of our forces was strictly correct. An armed foreign force, which is driven into neutral territory, is necessarily disarmed, as the Swiss did Bourbaki's army when it was driven over their frontier in 1870.

German South West Africa was valued by Germany principally as a "point d'appui" to attack British South Africa. Vast warlike stores were accumulated there and a considerable number of troops were kept in garrison. It was for

years a centre of espionage and intrigues against British dominion in South Africa. But its occupation and conquest by General Botha and the forces of the South African Union is one outcome of the Great War of 1914, and this vast territory now becomes, as it ought to have done originally, a part of the Union of South Africa.

### The Queen's Jubilee in 1887.

In 1887 the Queen's Jubilee was right loyally kept in South Africa. Although the South African Church is disconnected with the State, and is the Church of a minority, the Cape Parliament, most of whose members belonged to the Dutch Reformed Communion, voted, by a large majority, to attend the Jubilee service in Capetown Cathedral. I held a similar official service at S. Mary's, Port Elizabeth, and I was able to gather together the whole official element, including the Consuls of the various Powers, the local Colonial troops and the Government officials. I invited the Nonconformist ministers to the service and reserved seats for them. Some of them came. There is very little sectarian bitterness in South Africa. The Dutch Reformed Communion is too powerful to be bitter. We have a "Religious Census" every ten years and its figures showed that the Dutch Reformed outnumber the total aggregate of all other religious bodies put together. In like manner the Church outnumbers the aggregate of all the English-speaking sects, so far as Europeans are concerned, though the large number of native Wesleyans gives that body a slight numerical superiority to the Church if members of all races are counted together.

### Lord Carnarvon's Visit to Capetown.

In the same year Lord Carnarvon, the former Secretary of State for the Colonies, visited South Africa. He was Pro-

Grand Master of English Freemasons, and I went with a Masonic deputation from Port Elizabeth to Capetown to welcome him officially. We had a grand Masonic banquet at Capetown at which Lord Carnarvon and Sir Hercules Robinson made excellent speeches, instinct with the true spirit of English Freemasonry, which is a real link of Empire, as Lord Wolseley said at a Masonic banquet in South Africa, I have found English Freemasonry to be in a very real sense a handmaid to the Church and to education. The late King Edward VII did a service of untold value to English Freemasonry when he was Grand Master. He absolutely severed English Freemasonry from all contact with the spurious Freemasonry of the Continent, which has, in France, been the handmaid of Atheism and the moving spirit behind all the bitter attacks which French politicians have made against the Church and the Christian religion in any form. The condemnation of Continental Masonry by Pius IX was just and necessary and has rightly been continued by his successors. The strange part of it in his case was that, as a young man, he is said to have joined the Order, and so he condemned Continental Masonry from his own inside knowledge of its dangerous tendencies. The story goes that Garibaldi, as Grand Master of Italy, retaliated upon "Bro. Pio Nono," by formally expelling him from the Order. *Si non e vero e ben trovato.*

### Lord Brassey Arrives at Port Elizabeth in the *Sunbeam*.

In 1887 Lord Brassey arrived at Port Elizabeth in his famous yacht the *Sunbeam*. He put into our harbour on a sad errand, for Lady Brassey had died on the voyage from Australia and been buried at sea. He made for the nearest land which was linked by cable to England in order to communicate with his family and friends. I was able to render him some small services during the few days the

*Sunbeam* lay in port, and I spent a very pleasant afternoon on board her. Of course, like most other people, I had heard of this beautiful vessel, but I quite enjoyed looking over her, and still more enjoyed some long talks I had with Lord Brassey, who was a pioneer as a "Liberal Imperialist". His wide grasp of the ideals of United Empire made me hopeful that a new school of English Liberals would arise, who would join with the Conservatives in formulating a true Imperial policy, which would be carried out continuously, apart from the exigencies of English party strife. Some good has been done by Liberal Imperialists, but things got to the old party ruts when the "Chinese Labour" outcry arose in 1906. As a South African I never felt more ashamed of English Party politics than I did when that shameless tissue of lies about "Chinese slavery" was circulated for electioneering purposes. The utter baselessness of the lies was only equalled by the crass stupidity and amazing folly of the British electors who believed in them. I would fain hope that the disgrace of 1906 will be the very last occasion on which an English political party will strive to win victory at the polling booths by slandering South Africa or any other of the self-governing nations within the Empire.

### The Case of Trinity Church, Capetown, in the Supreme Court.

To return to matters ecclesiastical once more. The year 1887 was remarkable for another Church property case before the Supreme Court of the Cape Colony. Trinity Church, Capetown, was built, just before Bishop Gray's consecration, by a narrow faction of extreme Protestants, who were nevertheless compelled to include the Bishop as patron and chief trustee of the fabric. The congregation naturally threw in their lot with the "Anti-Proviso" party in the Cape Diocese and they forced their then Incumbent to resign on account

of his loyalty to the South African Church. The late Archbishop, as the successor of Bishop Gray, claimed jurisdiction over the fabric and the right to appoint the Incumbent. The congregation immediately repudiated the claims of their Diocesan and began to conduct lay-services for themselves apart from his jurisdiction. Three prominent members of the congregation divided the services between them. One read the prayers, another the lessons and the third preached. A Capetown churchman with some knowledge of Biblical history promptly named them "Korah, Dathan and Abiram". Relying confidently on the adverse judgment of the Privy Council in the Grahamstown case, they claimed absolute freedom from the authority of their Diocesan as trustee and patron. The Chief Justice, who had held that Bishop Merriman had no legal position as Bishop of Grahamstown, tried the case. But he had learnt from the Privy Council's judgment on appeal that he had gone too far in saying that Bishop Merriman was not the legal successor of his "Letters Patent" predecessor. The Counsel for the Trinity Church vestry naturally relied on the Chief Justice to declare that Dr. West Jones (as Bishop of Capetown), was not the legal successor of Bishop Gray, and that, consequently, he was not legally the trustee and patron of Trinity Church. But they reckoned without their host. The Chief Justice applied the well-known legal doctrine of "Cy pres," or "next of kin," to the case. If Dr. West Jones was not the legal successor of Bishop Gray because he had not been consecrated under "Letters Patent," at all events he was "next of kin" and the only lawful Bishop the Diocese of Capetown was likely to possess. He went so far as to say that it was unnecessary to hear Counsel on the Bishop's side as the justice of the case was so plain to the bench. He gave judgment to the effect that the Bishop was both trustee and patron of Trinity Church. The defeated vestry noted an appeal to the Privy Council, but they ultimately withdrew it because their legal

advisers told them that they had no chance of winning the case. The late Archbishop used his victory in the most conciliatory and tactful way. When his legal right as patron was firmly established he consulted the congregation with regard to the appointment, and their schismatic attitude ceased when a new Incumbent was appointed, who took the customary oaths and declarations which are demanded by the South African Church. This decision was of great importance to the Church, as it put an end to the perpetual threats of the "Anti-Proviso" party that they would turn out the South African clergy who were using buildings and property that formerly belonged to the Church of England.

In 1888 the Emperor William of Germany died, and after a brief reign of the Emperor Frederick, stricken with mortal illness, William II became Kaiser. The Germans in Port Elizabeth had no place of worship of their own, and I offered to take for them a memorial service for Kaiser William I and Kaiser Frederick in S. Mary's. The German community attended the service, and I received an official letter of thanks from the German Consul General at Capetown. The scheme for "Germanising" and taking possession of South Africa had not then ripened. But it soon began to make its influence felt and the German Lutheran pastors were practically agents of the German Foreign Office. It culminated in the rebellion of 1914, which was the result of German intrigues, and South Africa will never tolerate such intrigues in the future.

## Constitution of S. Mary's as a Collegiate Church by Bishop Webb in 1888.

Early in 1888 the Bishop of Grahamstown (Dr. Webb) took a very important step, with which I was in entire sympathy, with regard to S. Mary's Church. The Bishop had been much impressed with Archbishop Benson's plea for

the revival of Collegiate Churches, with Chapters of working clergy, in large centres, which would ensure a certain amount of corporate unity in working and thus obviate the modern dangers of congregationalism and isolation.

In 1888 Port Elizabeth possessed eight Anglican churches, and it was, and still is, the largest Church centre in the Diocese of Grahamstown. Grahamstown, the Cathedral City, has three churches, besides the Cathedral, and S. Mary's, from its early foundation in 1825, has always ranked next to the Cathedral Church of the diocese in point of importance. The Bishop made S. Mary's a Collegiate Church with a Chapter of clergy and a body of statutes. The Bishop for the time being became *Provost* of S. Mary's and the Rector, *Vice-Provost*. The Archdeacon of Port Elizabeth and the Rural Dean subsequently occupied stalls in S. Mary's *ex officio*, while the Precentor of S. Mary's became a beneficed priest with fixity of tenure. The Rectors of the parishes which had from time to time been formed out of the original parish of S. Mary's had stalls in the choir as members of the Chapter. The services were prescribed by statute to be of Cathedral type and the continuity of the ritual and worship was also provided for by statute. I was most thankful for the change, and after twenty-five years' experience of its working, I am still most thankful for the wisdom and forethought of Bishop Webb in making it. The success of our corporate working and the unity of Church life in Port Elizabeth are abundant proofs that ancient methods of Church life and mediaeval precedents of centralisation can be applied with most encouraging and successful results to the modern conditions of colonial cities, where the prestige of ancient traditions is conspicuous by its absence. A Collegiate Church and Chapter in the unestablished South African Church has shown a true realisation of Archbishop Benson's ideals. One of the first things the Archbishop asked me when I met him some years afterwards was how

S. Mary's Collegiate Church was working. He had been furnished with a copy of our statutes and remembered all about us with interest.

Shortly after S. Mary's became a Collegiate Church, S. Saviour's, Southwark (now Southwark Cathedral), was also made "Collegiate," and I heard that our statutes were helpful in drafting those for S. Saviour's. S. Michael's, Coventry, has, even more recently, been made "Collegiate". It was necessary in our statutes to discriminate between "Chapter services" and purely "Parochial" ones. The Daily Eucharist was most wisely made a "Chapter service" in which all members of the Chapter take their turns by a *rota* approved by the Bishop, as Provost. This bond of union has made the altar of S. Mary's a real centre of corporate worship and intercession. The temptation to "congregationalism" is necessarily greater where each parish is held responsible for the clergy stipends and other expenses without the aid of endowment. The corporate unity of independent parishes, working in harmony through the tie formed by their Rectors belonging to the Collegiate Chapter, has practically obviated all the dangers of "congregationalism" in Port Elizabeth. A little tact was necessary, at first, to reassure the clergy that corporate working could co-exist with legitimate parochial independence. But I have every reason to be abundantly thankful for the result, after so many years' experience of Church life in Port Elizabeth.

### Bishop Gore's Mistake *re* Colenso Case in 1914.

Bishop Gore of Oxford, speaking in Convocation in 1914, paid a high tribute to the organisation and vigorous Church work of the South African Church. He attributed our definite Churchmanship and practical unity to the necessity of closing our ranks which was imposed upon us by the strain and stress of the Colenso case in 1863. This was true enough

but the Bishop used our case as an argument that good came out of evil and that the mistakes made in dealing with Dr Colenso had been overruled for good. But he did not explain *where the mistakes lay*. Mistakes there were undoubtedly, but they were made in *England*, and *not* in *South Africa*. The conduct of Bishop Gray and his com-Provincial Bishops in dealing with Dr. Colenso's case was in strict accordance with the soundest precedents of ecclesiastical law. It was natural for Bishop Gray to take counsel with the Archbishop of Canterbury before issuing a citation to one of his suffragan Bishops to be tried for unsound doctrine and depraving the Book of Common Prayer. No trial of a Bishop for false doctrine or ecclesiastical offences had taken place since the trial of the Bishop of S. David's for simony at the close of the seventeenth century. Precedents were forthcoming for the trial of the Bishop of Lincoln in 1890, but there were none to guide Bishop Gray in 1863. But what did the English Bishops and Archbishops do? Dr. Colenso went to England to publish the second part of his book on the "Pentateuch," as a man liable to trial but who had not been tried. The Archbishop of Canterbury summoned the Bishops to meet, and, as the result of their meeting they (1) called on the S.P.G. to remove Dr. Colenso's name from their list of Vice-Presidents. (2) Twenty-five Bishops inhibited him from preaching in their dioceses. (3) The Archbishops of Canterbury and York with forty-one other Prelates called upon him to resign. Here was a series of blunders. Archbishop Tait (then Bishop of London) was the only Bishop to point out the right course of action. He asked why Dr. Colenso had not been cited for trial before his own Metropolitan in Africa. Bishop Gray at once took steps to carry out the canonical procedure which the case demanded. He and his com-Provincial Bishops tried Dr. Colenso in Capetown Cathedral, and deposed him from the See of Natal. It is noteworthy that Archbishop Tait, who had advised this

course, was the first to repudiate, as far as he could personally, the sentence of the Court as binding. But the point is that the procedure of Bishop Gray, as Metropolitan, with his com-Provincial Bishops, was free from mistakes and absolutely in accord with sound ecclesiastical precedent. The common view of the Colenso trial is, as I have said before, that a moderately "Liberal" Bishop was condemned by a "Tractarian" and mediævalist Metropolitan, upon the narrowest lines of obscurantist traditionalism, and that no Court now-a-days would dream of condemning Colenso. Yet the issues of the trial did not depend upon the "Higher Criticism" of the Pentateuch. The published utterances of Dr. Colenso on this subject were irreverent and offensive. He called the stories of Genesis "old wives' fables," and "lies spoken in the name of the Lord". But Bishop Gray's words in the Colenso Judgment stand forth as a bulwark of legitimate criticism and freedom of thought and strike one with wonder at their breadth of tolerance, when we realise that they were spoken in 1863, when the Evangelicals and many High Churchmen were pledged to the doctrine of the "verbal inspiration" of Scripture. After condemning Dr. Colenso for false doctrine on the Incarnation, the Atonement and justification, and further for denying the grace of the Sacraments and depraving the Book of Common Prayer (which were the most serious charges), Bishop Gray's judgment dealt with the case as a whole in the following words: "It is the first duty of the Bishops of the Church to see that its teaching should be preserved pure, incorrupt, complete, fixed and positive. But so far as is compatible with this, not only must freedom be allowed to the clergy, but *special care* must be taken not to over-strain and exaggerate their engagements and the most generous construction must be put upon the language of any who may be accused of false teaching." And with regard to the "Higher Criticism" of the Old Testament, he used the following very remarkable words:

"Now, without wishing to limit the proper field and province of criticism, or to restrict the freedom which may be regarded as desirable for the eliciting of the truth, without attempting to define inspiration or venturing to say where the human element in the Bible ends and where the Divine begins, I must deny that the Church does, or can, permit her ministers without restraint to make such assertions as these" (i.e., the somewhat coarse and offensive assertions of Dr. Colenso on the Old Testament, which so disgusted Professor Maurice, his life-long friend, that he counselled him to resign his See). (Frederick Denison Maurice had himself been driven out of King's College, London, for supposed heterodoxy, and he was the last person to stand for narrowness or illiberality of judgment.) Bishop Gray's breadth of view on the "critical" question (in the very judgment in which he condemned Dr. Colenso) must have appealed to men like Maurice as much as it shocked the views of the Protestants who, in 1863, still held fast to "verbal inspiration". Bishop Gore was quite right in saying that the Colenso controversy shaped the principles and fabric of the South African Church. We learnt breadth of view in holding Catholic principles from Bishop Gray.

### The Unity of the South African Church in its Freedom from the State Connection.

And if we can truly say (after over sixty years from the date of his consecration) that the South African Church of to-day is the most united portion of the whole Anglican Communion, we owe it, under God, to him, and to the great men who worked with him. The life of a priest in the South African Church has its special difficulties. But we are happily freed from the curse of conflicting ideals and party spirit which have distracted the Church of England ever since the Tudor Reformation. We have been accused of

narrowness because we uphold loyally the principles of the Book of Common Prayer, as recovered from the oblivion of the eighteenth century by the Catholic revival of 1833. We are united upon this Catholic basis. We are not disquieted by militant Protestantism or Modernism. We are a Missionary Church charged with a definite and clear-cut gospel message to the heathen millions around us.

I have written thus fully upon what the South African Church stands for, to express, as an old man, my thankfulness that I was led to work in South Africa for over forty-one years, as I am now writing. I have been working in the freedom of an un-established and self-governing Province of the Holy Catholic Church, mercifully freed from the Erastian chains of connection with the State and at liberty to develop, in obedience to the authority of the Church Primitive and Catholic, on the lines best fitted for our great mission to the people of South Africa. We have been called "narrow," but our practical doctrinal agreement, as the heirs of the Catholic revival of 1833, never causes, or has caused, any real "narrowness," such as the Modernist and Protestant parties show in the Church of England. We have too much work to do to find leisure for biting and devouring one another, when we are agreed upon the essentials of the Catholic faith. It may be asked, What of our laity? Our colonial-born laity are, broadly speaking, "Prayer-book Churchmen". If a man inclines to "Militant Protestantism" he becomes an adherent of one of the non-episcopal sects. He does not remain in communion with the Church and attempt to effect a lodgment within a body with whose tenets he disagrees. It is far better so. We sometimes get imported "cranks" from the mother country. But they are too few in number to stir up strife and they get no backing if they try it on. Our Press does not readily lend itself to religious controversy of the baser sort. Our laity have better "religious manners" than the Protestant controversialists in England. The idea of disturbing Church

services or badgering clergy at Easter Vestries does not commend itself to our lay folk. They have their own legitimate place in our Synods and they also support the church in each parish with their contributions. But they do not override the clergy, and are not overridden themselves. The Synod of each diocese fixes the stipend to be paid by the parishioners to their parish priest, and they raise it accordingly. If the parson proves himself a misfit, the Bishop, or the Archdeacon, can readily find it out by quiet conference with individual laity and a transfer, or exchange, can be effected. And then there is another point. We have dioceses of a manageable size and a real "Episcopacy". Our Bishops know their clergy and laity and hold the strong position of being elected by the diocese which they are called upon to administer. The ancient Canon law maxim about Episcopal elections *nemo detur invitis*, applies to us as it cannot apply in England, where the clergy and laity of the diocese have no voice in the election of their Bishop. Again, the South African Church is not hampered by its past history. The future belongs to it.

I never could help feeling distressed when I visited or ministered in the mediæval Cathedrals and Churches of England and thought of their past history. The traces of the Reformation and of Cromwell's Puritans breaking down "the carved work thereof with axes and hammers" always depressed me. The Church of England has recovered much of her former Catholic ideals of sacramental life and worship "in the beauty of holiness," but she is still torn by conflicting ideals and the echoes of the miserable tyrannies and strivings of the Tudor Reformation.

### Contrast Between Church Life in England and in South Africa.

The majority of the people of England are not practising Christians in any real sense of the word. The clergy of

England have the hard task of turning a nation of self-satisfied nominal Christians into Catholic believers who live by and practise the "One Faith". In South Africa we are braced to our work by the fact that we are face to face with a vast heathen majority. We have to attack with all our force, and it is far easier to deal with heathenism than it is with nominal Christianity. We have our faults, and make our mistakes, but there is a hopefulness about our work that lifts us up and keeps us going. There is noble work done in England, but it is congregational and parochial rather than diocesan or provincial. The quickening life of the whole South African Church, as represented in its Provincial Synod, and the organised impulse which the Diocesan Synods give to the work of each diocese count for so much with us that we feel that our lives are cast in pleasant places. South Africa is old, and yet it is new. We are watching its moral and spiritual development, and the South African clergy are forced, in spite of themselves, to take a broader view of public life, and to accept wider responsibilities than their brethren in England. We are freed from some of their grievous burdens and difficulties. I do not now mean our freedom from English controversies and the perpetual hostility to the Church which half the people of England, in Parliament and out of it, seem to lose no opportunity of manifesting. What I mean is that we have none of the miseries of ancient civilisation to contend with. We have no poor laws, no workhouses, no "lapsed masses" of poor English folk, none of that grinding routine of "serving tables" and wasting our time with doing what our laymen ought to do for us, which seems to me such a sore burden on the weary shoulders of the English town clergy. We have time to read and to think. We get few holidays and have long journeys to minister to isolated handfuls of people in our huge parishes, but I would not exchange my lot with that of the most highly favoured of my English brethren. I am a South African for life, and am

thankful that I have been placed where I am. We have had our conflicts with heresy and Erastianism, but they found a definite ending and determination. We are thereby freed from the perpetual controversies of the Church of England which, as Bishop Gore has said, are being urged to the edge of disruption unless the *Great War renovates* the Church, and men are driven back to first principles, above and beyond the temporising opportunism of the Archbishop of Canterbury's pronouncement on the Kikuyu controversy and the alarms and excursions of Prayer Book revision debates in the Convocations.

## CHAPTER VI.

THE BEGINNINGS OF RHODESIA IN 1890. THE RHODES MINISTRY—THE RHODES-HOFMEYR ALLIANCE AND ITS OUTCOME—THE "SOUTHERN CROSS".

The Provincial Synod of 1891; Sir Francis de Winton and Swaziland; The Transvaal and the Free State; Dr. Leyds and the Netherlands Railway Company; The Controversy of the "Drifts"; My visit to England in 1893; Archbishop Benson and Natal; The Birmingham Church Congress; Sermons at St. Paul's and Cambridge; Return to South Africa.

### Lord Loch as Governor.

The year 1890 was an *annus mirabilis* in the history of South Africa. Lord Loch had succeeded Sir Hercules Robinson as Governor of the Cape and High Commissioner of South Africa. Sir H. B. Loch (as he then was) came to us from Melbourne after a ripened experience in public affairs and a successful term of office as Governor. In his younger days he had been captured by the Chinese in the war of 1860. He and his companions were treated with the utmost barbarity, and he was exposed in a cage to the cruelties of the mob. He was a man of fine character and considerable ability, but he was overshadowed in the fateful years of his term of office by the commanding personality of Cecil Rhodes. I liked what I saw of Lord Loch, and Lady Loch was one of the most cultured, charming and able women I have ever met. The influence that radiated from Government House

in their day was powerful for good. They made Government House the centre of everything that made for righteousness and the good of the people of South Africa. The Boers and natives admire a bearded man. Lord Loch had the most magnificent beard I have ever seen, and he was a well-built soldierly man with a personality that made itself felt.

I met Lord Loch on his first visit to Port Elizabeth, and travelled with him to Grahamstown, where he laid the Foundation Stone of the new Choir of Grahamstown Cathedral. Bishop Webb worked very hard to raise the necessary funds, and the ceremony was most impressive. I took part in it as District Grand Chaplain, and the Masonic ritual was interwoven with the ecclesiastical in the same way as it was done when King Edward, as Prince of Wales and Grand Master of England, laid the Foundation Stone of Truro Cathedral in 1877. The late Bishop of Grahamstown (Dr. Cornish) has continued his predecessor's work in building the Cathedral Nave. The old building was badly built and very plain. The sole interest was that it was built by the early British Settlers of 1820.

### Rhodes Becomes Prime Minister of the Cape.

Just as Lord Loch arrived, the Sprigg-Upington Ministry was thrust out of office by Mr. Hofmeyr and the Afrikander Bond, and it was difficult to find a solution for the political tangle. Mr. Hofmeyr refused office for himself and his friends. He still distrusted their administrative capacity, and he preferred a Cabinet of puppets who would dance as he pleased when he pulled the strings. I got to know Mr. Hofmeyr pretty well about this time, and, from his own point of view, his policy was sound enough. He could not have formed a Cabinet capable of carrying on the affairs of the country with the political material then at his disposal, and no other party but his could have formed a Ministry that

would have lasted a month. The only solution open to the Governor was to send for Rhodes, and see if he could form a Cabinet which Hofmeyr would support. Rhodes was no puppet, and he adopted the frank and open course of dealing directly with Hofmeyr. And then a working solution was reached.

### He Formed the Chartered Company.

Rhodes had just formed the Chartered Company, to colonise the northern territories of Matabeleland and Mashonaland, which were to perpetuate his memory as an "Empire Builder," under their present name "Rhodesia". He had kept the way to the north open by means of Sir Charles Warren's expedition some six years before. His whole heart and soul was given to this northern expansion. He cared little for the post of Premier of the Cape, but he cared very much for the possibility of an unsympathetic Cape Premier who might hinder his work. He was by nature a country gentleman and in sympathy with the farmers who formed the bulk of Mr. Hofmeyr's followers, rather than with the pushful British of the towns. He followed his own predilections when he bargained with Hofmeyr on taking office. "You shall have your own way in the internal affairs of the Cape Colony, if you will support me in having my way in the north." Hofmeyr knew that the opening of the vast "hinterland" of Rhodesia would indirectly benefit the whole of South Africa, for Hofmeyr had a wide outlook, as well as Rhodes. Their objects were not identical but there was sufficient agreement to enable them to work together politically.

Lord Loch was heart and soul with Rhodes' northern expansion.

Rhodes had serious difficulties to contend with in the north. He got his Charter, but he had no active help from

the Colonial Office. He financed his huge scheme by himself without any Imperial aid. In those days there was a small "Imperial Federation League" which did good service as far as it could. It published a journal which had an article attacking Rhodes and his Charter. The writer did not know the difficulties of the situation. Germany and the Transvaal were ready to bargain with Lobengula, the Matabele King, and Rhodes only got the concession on which the Charter was founded "by the skin of his teeth". I knew all this and I wrote a strong article in reply in which I said very plainly that the East India Company won India, and that Rhodes and his Company would colonise the north, whereas, the Colonial Office was powerless to attempt such a bold venture. I met Rhodes afterwards in Capetown. He came up to me in his hurried way saying, "I have seen your article, I shall not forget it," and then was off again.

### Founding of the "Southern Cross" as a Church Paper Under My Editorship.

In January, 1890, the late Archbishop asked me to found and edit a Church newspaper for South Africa. It was a thankless task, but I did my best. It meant an end to much of my systematic theological reading, and it also made serious and concentrated literary work difficult. Just about this time I published a volume of Sermons on the "Sevenfold Gifts of the Holy Spirit". Bishop Webb wrote an introduction to it, and it had a considerable sale. I was told that I made a fairly successful journalist, and I have written much for the press, but I had hardly any literary help. I had to do my own reviewing and write my own leaders. I often had more books to review than I could digest. The "Southern Cross" soon attained a large circulation, and passed through various vicissitudes and changes of editorship. It dropped during the Boer War, mainly from postal difficulties, and consequently reduced circulation.

THE "SOUTHERN CROSS" ON RHODESIA.

I mention it here because my first leading article concerned the development of Rhodesia. Dealing with the objections made in the London Press to the Chartered Company, I said: "'The Chartered East India Company' *made* our Indian Empire. The British South African Company may be the means of developing a vast territory, fitted for European settlers, and we may see its efforts result in a colonisation as rapid and permanent in its results as the western expansion of the United States of America. We believe that it will be found that the establishment of a Chartered Company will prove a most important factor in fostering a true spirit of South African nationality. And it will also be found that the quickened impulses of South African national life will strengthen the ties that bind us to the Flag of England. The leader of this enterprise is a loyal Englishman, thoroughly imbued with the spirit of South African nationality." (I was an optimist when I wrote thus in 1890, and an enthusiastic supporter of Rhodes. But I was right in the main. Rhodesia is the most British part of South Africa, and it has certainly been a most valuable factor in maintaining British loyalty in South Africa for the last twenty years.) I then dealt with the missionary aspect of the new territory and said that "'the Missionary Campaign' must be well planned and wisely fought. The Church in South Africa must be ready by well sustained and well planned corporate and individual effort to plant the Standard of the Cross in British Zambesia till our missionary outposts join hands with the Universities Mission in Central Africa." This forecast of mine has been realised by the foundation of the Diocese of Southern Rhodesia in 1908. "We shall need all the help in men and means that England can spare to us. But South African Churchmen must *lead* in this great work, and our Provincial Synod must organise and guide our northward missionary expansion. We must

throw ourselves upon the sympathy of the people of South Africa, and let them see that the perfection of missionary organisation and enterprise is the perfection of sound Christian God-guided common sense."

On the whole, writing as I do, some six-and-twenty years after I penned this article in the first number of the "Southern Cross," I may fairly say that Rhodesia has fulfilled my hopes and aspirations, both in its people and in its vigorous Church life under four successive Bishops. The outstanding name in its missionary and ecclesiastical development has been that of my dear old friend Bishop Gaul. He worked hand in hand with Rhodes and Jameson and the other pioneers of Rhodesia, and he planted the Church on the sympathy of the laity, who have loyally supported the missionary side of our work. It seems an almost unbelievable contrast to compare Rhodesia of to-day with Rhodesia of 1890.

### Sir Sydney Shippard and Lobengula.

I well remember Sir Sydney Shippard, the Administrator of Bechuanaland, telling me of his experiences in seeking an official interview with Lobengula, the Matabele King, just before the Chartered Company sent its pioneer expedition into the country. Lobengula was not so cruel for cruelty's sake as Chaka, the tyrant of Zululand. But he was far worse than Cetewayo. He was able and crafty and utterly ruthless where his suspicions were aroused and when his courtiers or his wives did not please him. Sir Sydney told me that he saw near Lobengula's "Kraal" the dead body of a native girl lying in the road and a still living baby in her arms. The horror of the sight appalled him and he asked whether some one would take the still living child from the festering corpse of the mother. He was told that no one dared to touch the child or move the body. So it was left to die by the king's orders as an object lesson to his other

wives. The unfortunate girl was one of his harem who had displeased him and he had immediately ordered her to be stabbed to death.

### His "White Dogs".

After this terrible experience Sir Sydney had to see Lobengula and be civil to him. He told me that he felt polluted by shaking hands with such a bloodstained tyrant. In the king's kraal itself Sir Sydney saw some degraded and miserable white men kneeling on all fours in the mud before Lobengula. "See me feed my white dogs," said the king to Sir Sydney, and he threw great chunks of raw meat to these vile wretches, who went off with their daily rations with more servile abasement to the savage ruler. These white men were the outcasts of civilisation. Some had trades and all were made useful to the king who supplied them with food, women and drink. And yet people were found in England to take the part of Lobengula and blame Rhodes and the Chartered Company for supplanting Lobengula's savagery by civilised and orderly government.

Lobengula and his Matabele were aliens in the country which they occupied. Moselikatze, the founder of the Matabele tyranny, had fought his way from the south about sixty years before this date, leaving a broad pathway of ruin and desolation in his track. He depopulated vast areas and captured enough women for his army, whilst he slew all the men.

### The Pioneer Column of the Chartered Company.

At the time of the pioneer expedition of the Chartered Company in 1890, Lobengula made constant raids into Mashonaland to capture women and cattle. The Mashonas were unwarlike and unable to resist the Matabele. The first

result of the Chartered Company's occupation of Mashonaland was the deliverance of the Mashonas from these perpetual raids. I well remember how anxiously we watched the progress of that pioneer column. Lobengula had promised not to interfere with the British occupation of Mashonaland, but it was felt that his pledge was not worth much. The country was unknown save to a few traders and hunters. The column was well equipped, though small in numbers.

### Foundation of Salisbury.

At length it reached its destination and the British flag was unfurled on the site where Salisbury, the capital of Rhodesia now stands. A few fortified posts had been built *en route*, and small settlements speedily grew up. Bishop Balfour of Basutoland (then Canon Balfour of Bloemfontein) went up as Chaplain to the pioneer column and held the first Church services in Salisbury. I remember meeting him a short time afterwards, and the other day I was asked to go by train to Salisbury to the opening of the Choir of the noble Cathedral which is now being built at the Rhodesian capital. The quickening interest of my life in South Africa is that I have seen and noted the various stages of this wonderful growth and development. Bulawayo, the second town in Rhodesia, is larger than the capital and is built on the site of Lobengula's kraal. When I think of the energetic Church life in Bulawayo, where the dignified and noble Church of S. John reproduces the highest traditions of architecture and worship, and where a modern town has risen with spacious streets and all the appliances of modern civilisation, and then look back upon the hideous memories of Sir Sydney Shippard's story of the living child on the festering corpse of the woman and Lobengula's "white dogs" cringing in the mud and filth, one can only say, as a South African, "Thank God for the life work of Cecil Rhodes!"

### The Provincial Synod of 1891.

To turn to Church matters once more. I was again elected to represent the Diocese of Grahamstown in the Provincial Synod of 1891. There were no burning questions before us and we settled down to a fortnight's Session of constructive work.

### A "Lapsus Linguæ".

In a debate on Religious Education a Cabinet Minister, who sat as a lay representative, electrified the Synod by a most extraordinary *lapsus linguæ*, for he was a highly cultured man and the son of a Bishop. He was warning the Synod not to ask for too much religious teaching. "Be content," said he, "with the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and *the eleven Commandments!*" We were sitting in the Cathedral, so loud merriment was hushed, but the whole Synod *smiled*, whilst our honourable friend wondered what he had said to cause it. A neighbour pulled his sleeve, and said in a loud stage whisper, "Ten, you mean, there aren't *Eleven!*" "Oh, well! *I am content with Ten.* We will leave it at that," and he continued his speech, with the same imperturbable *insouciance* which made him one of the most formidable debaters in the House of Assembly.

### The Synod Founds Two New Dioceses. Mashonaland and Lebombo.

The Provincial Synod of 1891 was, in many ways, a most helpful aid to the life and prayers of the Church. My first Provincial Synod of 1883 was naturally absorbed with the burning question of the Third Proviso of our constitution and our determination to preserve our freedom from the ecclesiastical decisions of the Privy Council. In 1891 we accomplished much useful work. We founded two new Missionary

Dioceses. Mashonaland (for Rhodesia) was occupied by Bishop Knight Bruce, who never felt quite comfortable as Bishop of Bloemfontein, with a Cathedral Chapter, a Diocesan Synod and a well-organised diocese. He longed for the untrammelled freedom of a missionary pioneer, and until his health gave way, he did useful work. Lebombo, our Missionary Diocese for the region about Delagoa Bay, had to wait till 1893 for the consecration of Bishop Smyth as its first Bishop in Grahamstown Cathedral. A remarkable incident of this Synod was the unanimous welcome that the clergy and laity gave to the Bishops' choice of Father Puller to the vacant See of Zululand. When Archbishop West-Jones invited the Cowley Fathers to work in the Diocese of Capetown, some of the old-fashioned clergy and laity were somewhat alarmed, and a few of the baser sort of Protestants said unpleasant things. But they won their way and Father Puller was both trusted and liked. One of the leading laymen in the Synod whom I knew personally to be the last man to advocate or tolerate "extreme men" (to use an absurd and meaningless popular nickname) rose in Synod to congratulate the Bishops on their choice of Father Puller. He accepted, "salvo meo ordine," and, unfortunately for the South African Church his Superior would not release him. I thought then, and I think now, that Cowley made a grievous blunder in depriving the South African Church of a Bishop who would have made his mark, not only in the Province, but in the Lambeth Conferences.

### Abolition of Church Ordinances carried in Synod and Subsequently in the Cape Parliament.

I carried through the Synod a useful measure which involved the abolition of the Grahamstown "Church Ordinance," and those affecting other parishes, including my own. These obsolete State enactments provided for the government

of certain "Chaplaincy Churches" with Government stipends attached to them, and as they were all enacted before the founding of the See of Capetown they left us no room in the parishes governed by them for the exercise of lawful Episcopal jurisdiction. My committee of the Synod prepared a Bill for the Cape House of Assembly to give each parish concerned the power to abolish its "Ordinance" by the decision of a meeting of parishioners. There has always been a small "Erastian-Protestant" clique at Capetown, and they were up in arms against the Bill. I was allowed the *status* of a Parliamentary barrister *pro tem.*, and I had to appear before the select committee appointed to deal with it. I cross-examined the opponents and had a most interesting time.

### Mr. Hofmeyr's Aid to the Church.

I enlisted the powerful aid of Mr. Hofmeyr and his Dutch friends, who also wished to get rid of a Government "Ordinance" which hampered the Dutch Reformed Synod. I pointed out to him that the clique of English who opposed the Bill did not represent the true spirit of the English Church, and, by his direction, I wrote an appeal to the Dutch members of the House, which he translated into Dutch, and backed up with his personal influence. By this means the Bill became law and a formidable and dangerous legal anomaly was swept out of existence. When Mr. Hofmeyr died in 1909, I brought his good service to the Church in this matter to the recollection of the Provincial Synod and I carried a unanimous vote of condolence from the Synod to his relatives.

Mr. Hofmeyr was an extremely astute leader of men. He desired to see his own Dutch people welded together into a political party solid and united enough to rule South Africa. He did not wish to sever South Africa from the Empire, because he knew that it could not stand alone. He objected

strongly to the aggressive policy of Germany, and looked forward to the day when German South-West Africa should revert to its legitimate owners and become an integral part of South Africa under the British Flag. Kruger desired to unite South Africa by expelling the British Flag after a successful war. But Hofmeyr had no sympathy with Kruger's "physical force" policy. His conduct of the Swaziland difficulty proves this.

### The Swaziland Difficulty.

Swaziland was an independent native territory bordering the Transvaal. Kruger had allowed it to become the happy hunting-ground of adventurers and concession-mongers. Umbadine, the Swazi King, could not, even if he would, preserve his country from these adventurers. Some immediate steps were necessary to prevent the territory from becoming a lawless "Alsatia". It was proposed to make Swaziland a joint Protectorate of the Transvaal Republic and the Imperial Government. Major General Sir Francis de Winton, a distinguished soldier and diplomat, was sent out as Commissioner to deal with the Swaziland question. I met him as he passed through Port Elizabeth, and I found him most ready to discuss Swaziland and South African affairs generally, as he evidently wanted to hear local opinion on the subject. We had a long conversation and I remember doing my best to impress him with the necessity of patience with Kruger's obstinacy, as I had a horror of war between the white races in South Africa—a war which was even then gradually maturing—though I refused then to believe that it was inevitable.

### Hofmeyr forces Kruger to Sign the Swaziland Convention.

Sir Francis went to Swaziland, and the result of his work was the "Swaziland Convention," an agreement between the

Imperial Government and the Transvaal, which was capable of being worked peaceably. Kruger would have none of it and Lord Loch used the bold and clever expedient of sending Hofmeyr to Pretoria with full powers to conclude the Treaty and deal with Kruger. I believe Rhodes advised this course and Hofmeyr was glad of the opportunity to convince Kruger that he and his "constitutionalist" party had become a force to be reckoned with. Hofmeyr carried an *ultimatum* in his pocket and threatened Kruger with British troops if he did not sign the Treaty. The obstinate old man knew that the Transvaal was not yet fully armed, and so, after a great show of resistance, he yielded to Hofmeyr and signed. Hofmeyr's success in this difficult mission gave him increased political power and prestige. It caused the British supporters of Rhodes to trust him, and this political alliance continued till the final breach between Rhodes and Hofmeyr, which was caused by the Jameson Raid. Hofmeyr withdrew from public life during the Boer War of 1899-1902, but he pulled the strings behind the scenes. He organised his party after the war and at his death in 1909 was the most powerful and influential political leader in South Africa. He was genial and kindly in his private life and personal friendship. His death was a serious loss to South Africa, occurring as it did on the eve of our National Union in 1910.

### I Carry a Resolution in the Provincial Synod to Adopt the Title "Archbishop" for the Metropolitan.

To return to the Provincial Synod of 1891. I was able to carry a resolution which declared it desirable for the Metropolitan Bishop of Capetown to adopt the title of Archbishop. The question was one of considerable delicacy and difficulty, as the debate concerned the title of the President of the Synod, and it was by no means easy to find out the exact procedure to be adopted in order to obtain recognition for the title when

the Synod had made the alteration. It was ultimately left to the House of Bishops and finally decided upon at the Lambeth Conference of 1897, when the Archbishop of Canterbury and the assembled Bishops formally recognised the action of the various Provincial Synods in conferring the title of Archbishop upon the occupants of the Sees of Sydney and Capetown, and for the Archbishops of the West Indies and of the Provinces of the Canadian Church. Civil recognition of the titles thus ecclesiastically conferred was manifested by the formal reception at Court under their new titles of the Colonial Archbishops by Queen Victoria. Thus a long-standing difficulty was brought to a close.

### The Title "Archbishop" Adopted in 1897.

The use of the word "Archbishop" instead of "Metropolitan" may not mean much to the Canonist or to the more learned clergy, but with the laity the ancient and intelligible title of "Archbishop" emphasised the *status* of the ecclesiastical Province over which he presides. I had worked rather hard for this issue. Many years ago the author of the "Christian Year," advocated colonial Archbishoprics. Keble saw that the word meant a good deal to the Church in the Colonies, as emphasising their true position, as in allegiance to Canterbury, and yet independent of its immediate jurisdiction. I wrote articles in Church papers and periodicals in England, India, and the Colonies in favour of the change. I got up a petition from all the Deans, Archdeacons, and Canons of the South African Church in its favour which was also signed by the vast majority of our clergy. The chief obstacle to this change of title was Archbishop Benson. I appealed to him to forward the change himself, as a generous and statesmanlike act, worthy of the Primate of the Anglican Communion, and I warned him that if he did not he would find that some Colonial Church had acted without him.

Within a few weeks of my writing to him on the subject the Canadian Church took independent action and resolved that its two Primates should henceforth be designated "Archbishop". Archbishop Benson was very angry, but the change of title was inevitable, although the final step, so far as other Colonial Churches were concerned, was postponed till the Lambeth Conference of 1897, which was held under his successor, Archbishop Temple, when the title, as conferred by the Colonial Synod, was corporately acknowledged.

At this time South African politics were in a transition state. President Kruger surrounded himself with Hollander adventurers, and German intrigues against England were being busily hatched in the Transvaal, the ultimate outcome of which was the Kaiser's famous telegram of sympathy with Kruger on the occasion of the Jameson Raid in January, 1896. General Joubert's words, after Majuba, "that the ultimate aim of the Transvaal was the expulsion of British rule in South Africa," were not forgotten and Kruger kept this aim steadily in view. He wanted money to arm his people, and he found it by taxing Johannesburg, where the gold industry had become of world-wide importance since the first discovery of gold in 1887.

### Discovery of Gold in 1887 Develops into the Vast Mining Industry of Johannesburg.

It is impossible to imagine a greater contrast than that between the South African mining centres and the American mining camps so graphically described by Bret Harte. Kimberley, with its diamonds, and Johannesburg, with its gold, speedily became orderly and law-abiding towns. I remember being much struck by the fact that in the early days of Johannesburg, when it was a town of tin shanties and tents, a Choral Society was formed which gave a very creditable rendering of Handel's "Messiah". One cannot imagine

Bret Harte's miners taking to Handel's music as a recreation. In the very early days the Johannesburg people began to plant trees and make gardens. The suburbs of Johannesburg are now well-wooded and beautiful as the outcome of the forethought of its pioneers, for originally the "Rand" was a bleak and barren stretch of veld. Johannesburg has now become the largest town in South Africa. Its fine buildings and spacious streets have kept pace with its trees and gardens.

### Kruger and Johannesburg.

The gold industry of the Transvaal at first alarmed President Kruger and the Boers. It caused a vast influx of foreigners, and Johannesburg became a cosmopolitan centre with a very large proportion of British, who included both new arrivals and South African born. But the astute Hollanders of the President's *entourage* saw further than the "back-veld" Boer. They persuaded Kruger to utilise this new population by taxing their wealth for the purpose of arming the Republic with modern weapons, and incidentally filling their own pockets. The German intrigues against Great Britain began gradually to materialise. I believe the original idea was to include the two Boer Republics as Federated States of the German Empire, and then to seize the British portion of South Africa at the first favourable opportunity. The Germans flattered Boer susceptibilities and claimed kinship with them, as of "Low German" origin. The Anti-British tendencies of the Boers were sedulously fostered, and they were encouraged to believe that Germany would back them up in a war against England.

### Taxation of the Gold Industry Provides Arms for the Boers.

The first step was to tax the new gold industry to arm themselves. It is a mistake to suppose that the Republics

began arming *after* the Jameson Raid. They began directly they screwed the money out of the gold miners' pockets. Thus the gold industry indirectly caused the Boer War by furnishing the Boers with ample supplies of the sinews of war.

### Concessions and Corruption.

This new population naturally objected to taxation without representation. But, although Kruger would never allow votes to the "Uitlanders," this grievance was only the ostensible cause of the war of 1899. The *real* reason was that, for the first time in their history, the Boers had money enough to arm themselves and organise their forces. Mr. Hofmeyr and the Cape Afrikanders began to look askance at Kruger and his Hollanders, who ousted Afrikanders from the Republican Civil Service and deprived Cape Afrikanders of the vote if they went to the Transvaal, just as ruthlessly as they excluded "Britishers". Money is power, and the Hofmeyr party of "constitutional methods" saw that they were losing their influence with the South African Dutch as a whole, and that Kruger's money was giving his "physical force" party the ascendancy. Some of Hofmeyr's supporters cordially disliked the venality and corruption of Kruger and his party. The disgraceful story of the concessions granted to the Netherlands Railway (which held a monopoly in the Transvaal) and its German shareholders, the Dynamite monopoly and other shady transactions, caused honourable men to feel disgusted.

### Dr. Leyds.

These things were unveiled after the capture of Pretoria in 1900, and the details of this shameless corruption, unparalleled in modern history, are recorded in an Imperial Blue Book. Kruger himself and his political confidants

became very wealthy, and about this time Dr. Leyds, the Javanese adventurer, got the ear of Kruger and became the evil genius of the Transvaal.

### Hofmeyr and Kruger.

In the early nineties Hofmeyr and the Cape Afrikanders of his "Bond party" were kept very much in the dark by Kruger's clique. The Bond loyally supported Rhodes as Premier, and the rift between the Hofmeyr party and Pretoria grew wider. The exclusive policy of Kruger not only denied votes to Cape Afrikanders settled in the Transvaal. They found that his customs tariff shut out their goods and touched their pockets. Kruger was at this time trying to draw the Free State into his net. President Brand was an enlightened ruler and in his day the Orange Free State was a well-governed republic. He repressed, so far as he could, the anti-British racialism which was the main plank in Kruger's policy.

### Story of the Free State.

The story of the Free State is a miserable disgrace to British politicians. We had annexed the country, and had established good government. But "a cold fit" beset the Imperial Government, and the British flag was hauled down at Bloemfontein on March 11th, 1854. Sir A. Clarke, the special Commissioner sent to haul down the flag, told the people to form a Republican Government of their own, and spent £48,691 of British taxpayers' money in compensating dispossessed officials and paying British loyalists in the territory to hold their tongues. It cost millions to hoist the British flag again at Bloemfontein in 1900. The base withdrawal of 1854 was one of the chief contributing causes of the great Boer War of 1899-1902. At first the Free State

had little sympathy with the Transvaal. In its early days Kruger led a strong force of Transvaalers to put an end to its existence by the capture of Bloemfontein. But negotiations caused his withdrawal.

### Feeble Government of the Boer Republic.

The Boer political ideals are curious. We find a strange mixture of anarchy and feudalism. In the eighteenth century the pioneer Boers "trekked" into the interior to escape from the rule of the Dutch East India Company and the flag of Holland. They had no use for magistrates or the law and order of a civilised central government. They were nomads of the "veld," and when they settled upon a tract of country each man was feudal lord on his own farm, with power of life and death over his slaves, and a bullet for outsiders who meddled with his anarchic idea of freedom. Political combination was of the loosest kind. A "Volksraad," or representative assembly, was elected and a President was chosen. But the President and the "Volksraad" did not venture to coerce burghers who objected to their laws and decisions. The defeated party in a "Volksraad" debate carried their quarrel into the "veld" with rifles.

### Major Albrecht.

In the Transvaal the two rival centres of Pretoria and Potchefstroom made war on each other, and as we have just seen, there was no love lost between the Free State and the Transvaal. How was unity of action to be attained by a people whose ideals of independence meant that every man was to do what was right in his own eyes? Kruger saw this difficulty plainly enough. His solvent was money and land. He settled German reservists in the Transvaal and used them to train his artillery. The Free State followed suit, and the

command of the Free State Artillery was given to a German Officer, one Major Albrecht, who surrendered with Cronje at Paardeberg, on Majuba Day, 1900. There is a curious sequel to Major Albrecht's career. At the close of the war he said to the British authorities that he wanted the pension to which he would have been entitled as an officer in the employ of the Free State republic. The Imperial Government promptly pensioned him and I met him at a reception at Government House, Bloemfontein, after the war. He looked very well groomed, and very pleased with himself, as he well might.

### Karl Borckenhagen.

But to return to the "Nineties". President Reitz succeeded President Brand in the Free State, and he was more amenable to Kruger's influence than his predecessor. One Karl Borckenhagen, a German with brains and violent anti-British prejudices, became the editor of the principal Bloemfontein paper, and began to work hard for Kruger in the Free State. I have no doubt that German secret service money as well as money from Kruger was at his disposal. I once met the gentleman, and was foolish enough to write a letter to him defending Rhodes from some calumnies in his paper, and expressing my hatred of German intrigues in South Africa. He used my letter very cleverly to found an attack on clergy who wrote in ignorance of political facts. It took seven years to prove that I was justified. Meanwhile the Free State was secretly bound to the Transvaal in an offensive and defensive alliance.

### The "Drifts" Controversy.

But just about this time a temporary split occurred between the Transvaal and the rest of South Africa, both Boer and British. The Cape Railways had been extended through

Bloemfontein to meet the Transvaal "Netherlands Railway" line at the Vereeniging Bridge over the Vaal River. A short length of railway of some thirty-five miles separated the Cape line railhead at the bridge from Johannesburg. Johannesburg was the trade-centre of South Africa, and the German and Hollander shareholders of the Transvaal line immediately put on a prohibition goods tariff on the short length of line under their control. This hit the Free State as well as the Cape Colony, and merchants organised a wagon transport service from the Cape railhead at Vereeniging to Johannesburg sooner than pay the exorbitant rates demanded by the Transvaal "Netherlands Company". But the wagons had to cross the Vaal at some fords or "drifts" not far from the railway bridge. Kruger came to the rescue of his "concessionaires" and forbade the wagons to cross the river. He stopped all road traffic, so as to force all traffic on to his friends' railway. This was too much for the Free State to stand, let alone the Cape Colony. Hofmeyr and his Afrikander party saw a chance of getting a "bit of their own" back from the old despot in Pretoria. The Cape Ministry took action, and Mr. Rhodes, as Premier, communicated with the Imperial Government with a view to an "ultimatum" to the Transvaal if the Vaal "drifts" were not immediately opened to traffic. Kruger was not ready to declare war, and he dared not choose an issue so unpopular as this, not only with the Free Staters and Cape Afrikanders, but with his own burghers, who were hiring out their wagons to compete with the railway. He promptly climbed down and bided his time. His Hollander and German advisers saw that they had pushed things a little bit too far.

## Visit to England.

In 1893 my wife and I sailed for England for rest and change. We had not been home since 1882, and we had a

delightful voyage by the *U.S.S. Pretoria*. It was good to see the fresh beauties of an English spring after the heat and dust of a South African summer and autumn.

### The Natal Church Question and Archbishop Benson.

The Natal Church question was just then in an acute stage. Bishop Macrorie had resigned, and the Colenso faction of Protestant Erastians stated that they were willing to forego their dream of a State-appointed "protestant" successor to Dr. Colenso, and accept a Bishop chosen by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who should govern both the orthodox and the schismatics, after consecration in England. It was a weak concession on the part of the loyal Churchmen in Natal, and it did not promote a real peace. At most it was an armed truce, for the small Colenso party had at last realised that the Church of England would never permit them to have a Bishop of their own, who would be necessarily in schism with the South African Church, which was the only body in South Africa acknowledged by the English Archbishops and Bishops as being in true spiritual communion with the Church of England. I have dealt fully with this subject in my "Life of Dean Green," the venerable and brilliant protagonist of the Church in Natal, and I need only recall my own personal reminiscences of certain details in the controversy.

### Dual Position of Bishop Hamilton Baynes.

On my arrival in London I called at Lambeth, as a formal act of courtesy due from a colonial priest to the primate of the Anglican Communion. I found, somewhat to my surprise, that Archbishop Benson wished to see me. He told me that he wished to hear what I had to say on Natal matters, as a South African priest from another diocese, because he felt bound not to consult either Bishop Macrorie or any of his

clergy on the matters at issue, although, as I found out, he had been in consultation with Sir Theophilus Shepstone, who represented the Colensoite party. I did my best to set the facts before him, and he asked me to see Mr. Hamilton Baynes, his former chaplain, whom he had chosen as Bishop-Designate, subject to the corporate assent of the South African Bishops and our Metropolitan. But I was somewhat uneasy after my interview with the Archbishop and the Bishop-Designate. I was afraid lest they should look upon the Natal schismatics as a "school of thought," like Protestants in the Church of England, instead of being, as they were, in open and flagrant schism. There was too much "conciliation" in the air, and, whilst tact was needed to bring the Natal schism to an end, I felt very strongly that any attempt to treat the orthodox, who were in communion with the Church of England, and the schismatics, who were not, on terms of practical equality, was foredoomed to failure. I venture to think (now that the Natal schism is practically at an end) that any dispassionate observer of Archbishop Benson's policy in Natal would be disposed to agree with me. The Archbishop considered Bishop Hamilton Baynes as a sort of "Legatus a latere" of the "Alterius orbis Papa". He was to occupy an impossible dual position. He was, at the same time, to be a Bishop of the "Church of England," to satisfy the Erastian views of the schismatics, and also to take the oath of allegiance to the Metropolitical See of Capetown, and sign the Constitution and Canons of the South African Church, as a Bishop of the Church of the Province of South Africa. I once compared his dual position to the "double-headed eagle," of Imperial Austria. One head could wear the Mitre of a South African Bishop, and the other the velvet cap of an old-fashioned Erastian Prelate of the Anglican Establishment. Bishop Hamilton Baynes ultimately found this out for himself. After the seven years' period for which Archbishop Benson sent him out, he resigned, and no attempt to continue the dual position

was made by his successor, who was duly consecrated, as a Bishop of the Province, by the late Archbishop of Cape Town. A strong point with the Natal schismatics was their persistent refusal to acknowledge Bishop Macrorie as the successor of Dr. Colenso, a refusal that was emphasised after Dr. Colenso's death. Archbishop Benson very nearly fell into the trap which they laid for him by asserting that their new Bishop must be regarded as the successor of Colenso, as *second* Bishop of the See. This acknowledgment would, of course, have blotted out Bishop Macrorie's episcopate as the legitimate *second* Bishop of the See. It was therefore a vital point for South African Churchmen. After dining at Lambeth I called on Mrs. Benson one afternoon and the Archbishop came into the room with a document in his hand. He said to me, "I am glad you are here as I want to know how you think the Bishop-Designate should be described in this document". I believe the document was his address to the Crown for the licence to consecrate, but I am not sure. "Shall I," he said, "describe him as the *second* Bishop of the See, or the *third ?*" The Archbishop had evidently no idea of the importance of the issue involved. A document which blotted out Bishop Macrorie's Episcopate would have at once caused a conflict between the Archbishop and the South African Church. I spoke out in very plain terms, and I think I convinced the Archbishop that the point at issue was important. He took a pen and put the words "Third Bishop" into the document. I was very thankful that I was there just in time to save a serious complication.

### Bishop Temple.

The Archbishop subsequently sent me to see Bishop Temple (then of London) on a matter connected with the relation of the Church House with the commissaries of the South African Bishops, with a view to using it as a central point for their

work. The Bishop was very pleasant and kindly when he found out that I could talk business without wasting his time. I put my points as rapidly and as clearly as I could, and there were several clergy waiting to see him outside his office, to whom he said, as I entered it, "You must wait. I am seeing this gentleman first." When I had finished I rose to go and remarked that I did not wish to trespass further upon his time. He looked at his watch, and said "You have not wasted time, and I can give you five minutes to talk about South Africa; sit down". I gave him the reports of our last Missionary Conference and he wound up by asking if I had a wife and what was my London address. The pleasant sequel was an invitation to us both for his next garden party at Fulham, which I visited last in Bishop Jackson's time in 1882.

### E.C.U. Sermon.

I was asked to preach the Annual Anniversary Sermon of the E.C.U. at All Saints, Margaret Street. At that time there was a feeling abroad that the ritual truce, caused by the Archbishop's judgment in the Lincoln case, had minimised the necessity for the continued existence of the E.C.U. I ventured to urge very strongly the need of strengthening the Society instead of disbanding it, and subsequent events have justified the line I then took.

### Tendency to Combine High Ceremonial with Modernism.

The E.C.U. had then, and has still, a great work before it in keeping Catholics together. There was a lack of leadership, and the ritual truce caused sundry developments of individual unwisdom. The worst of these was a tendency to combine vestments, altar lights, and other external accessories of

Catholic worship with indefinite vagueness in teaching the full Catholic Faith. Some of the younger clergy were bitten with "religion" made in Germany, and were led astray, by the guess work of the so-called "Higher Criticism" of the Old Testament, to adopt a false theory of our Lord's knowledge as Man, which Luther originally set forth, and which Godet, a modern Swiss Protestant Divine had elaborated. This theory, which had infected Lutheran Germany to such an extent that belief in the Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation had well-nigh perished out of the land, was the theory of Colenso, which imputed to our Lord an ignorance of the true historical value of the facts of Old Testament miracle and history. Colenso said that our Lord's authority, with regard to these facts, was conditioned by His not knowing more about them than any ordinary Jew of His own day. Such a theory of our Lord's imperfect human knowledge could not be covered by S. Paul's teaching on His "Kenosis," or self-emptying of Himself of the Divine Omniscience in His human mind, by the Incarnation. It was plainly heretical; because the human mind of the Perfect Man must necessarily be perfect and infallible, in all matters within the reach of a perfect human mind; and therefore in all statements by our Lord regarding the Old Testament. Our Lord's human mind could not be the vehicle of expressing erroneous views upon the facts of the Old Testament. But to the "Higher Critics" our Lord's infallible testimony to the Old Testament proved destructive to their theories, and therefore it was eliminated by a theory of His ignorance, as Man, which contravened the Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation. Hooker calls our Lord's knowledge as man, "so far forth universal, though not with infinite knowledge peculiar to Deity itself" (Bk. V. 54). S. Thomas Aquinas says that our Lord's perfect human soul knew all things "quae sunt in potentia creaturae". (Summa III. q.x.). Therefore since the facts of Old Testament miracle and history are *facts within the power of a*

*created mind to know*, we must accept our Lord's witness to those facts as infallibly true. Otherwise we fall into the peril of Nestorian heresy on the Incarnation. I have said thus much because I noticed then, and have noticed since, that a new school of thought was arising in the Church of England, which attempted to combine the externals of Catholic worship with a *minimum* of Catholic theology. The Creeds were to be "re-stated," whatever that might mean, to suit modern phases of unbelief, and the acceptance of extreme critical conclusions on the books of the Old Testament paved the way for similar treatment of the New Testament. The old and sound theology of the Tractarians was in danger of being supplanted by nebulous and illusive conceptions of religion which constituted a grave and growing peril to the whole Anglican Communion. I have since been glad that I urged so strongly the need of the maintenance of the E.C.U. in 1893. Its subsequent course has steadied the Church of England, and has shielded her priests and people from the insidious attacks of "religion made in Germany".

### Sermon in S. Paul's Cathedral.

I had the unique opportunity of preaching in S. Paul's Cathedral at a Sunday evening service. I was bold enough to advocate the disestablishment of the Church of England as a preferable alternative to its present loss of legitimate ecclesiastical autonomy, and its subjection to a Parliament composed of all sorts and conditions of religionists from Papists to Atheists. One of the Canons said to me afterwards "I agreed with what you said, but I am glad Dean Gregory did not hear your sermon". So was I, for the good old Dean could not free himself from the old-fashioned ideals of "Church and State" current in his younger days, and he could not be expected to view matters from the standpoint of a priest who had worked for years in an unestablished and

unfettered Church in the colonies. The congregation at S. Paul's is world-wide. There were Americans and British from the colonies as well as English folk—I remember being stopped on my way out of the Cathedral by several South Africans who knew me. I managed to make myself heard by the vast congregation, and it is an experience I shall never forget.

### Selous and Stanley.

I have always valued my membership of the Royal Colonial Institute as a rallying point for Colonists in London, as well as a powerful educative force for uniting the Empire. I was asked to a memorable gathering of the Institute to hear the famous hunter, Mr. Selous, give his experiences of lion hunting in Rhodesia. I sat on the platform next to him and he gave a very graphic description of his exploits and adventures. When he had finished Sir H. Stanley, the explorer, rose to criticise his utterances. His view was that lions should be preserved as royal game and that Selous deserved no credit for killing them. The two men glared at each other, and I persuaded Selous, whom I had met before, to keep quiet, and let someone else tackle Stanley, whose remarks were certainly ungracious. It was a curious scene and was commented on by the London press. Selous died a hero's death in battle against the Germans in East Africa in 1916. He was about sixty when he volunteered for Active Service and his knowledge of the country was most useful to the staff.

### Birmingham Church Congress.

I attended the Birmingham Church Congress, and I felt a sad contrast there, so far as Catholic unity was concerned. When I was at the Derby Church Congress in 1882 the imprisonment of faithful priests under the Public Worship Regulation Act (Dizzy's Bill to *put down Ritualism*) united

us all by the bonds of persecution. There was a different tone at Birmingham, and the beginnings of that leaderless individualism were manifest which left us open to the *furor fanaticus* of 1898, when a so-called "Church crisis" was stirred up by the *francs tireurs* of the Kensit brigade, and the heavy artillery of Sir William Harcourt's letters to "The Times".

I was present at the memorable scene between Bishop Perowne of Worcester (Chairman of the Congress) and Father Ignatius, who waved "Lux Mundi" over his head in a fervid denunciation of its authors. The Bishop called him to order with feeble and senile gesticulations which were as undignified as the outburst of Father Ignatius. Pandemonium ensued, and Father Ignatius was forcibly removed, still shouting protest. It would have been far better if the Bishop had allowed him to "unpack his heart of words," and say his say. But Bishop Perowne was neither a statesman nor a chairman.

I was asked to read a paper on "Missions" to the Church Congress—I did my best with the subject entrusted to me, as the mere fact of my being selected showed that the Colonial Church was deemed worthy of a hearing at the annual representative gathering of the Church of England.

### Dean Butler and Archbishop Benson.

At the Birmingham Church Congress I met Dean Butler, the famous Vicar of Wantage, who left so deep a mark upon the priestly and pastoral life of the Church of England. He was very friendly and kind. Our meeting proved fruitful in one direction. Notwithstanding Archbishop Benson's acceptance of the correction of the erroneous idea that Bishop Macrorie's episcopate was to be blotted out, he still spoke very ambiguously on the subject in his Visitation Charge delivered at Canterbury in 1893. In the first edition of his

charge he spoke of the election of Bishop Macrorie in the offensive terms, "one section provided themselves *obliquely* with a Bishop". When I saw these words I wrote at once to Dean Butler, who, as will be remembered, was lawfully elected Bishop of Natal after the deposition of Dr. Colenso. Bishop Macrorie's appointment was the result of a delegation arranged by the Natal Elective Assembly, in the event of Mr. Butler's declining to accept the vacant See. There was nothing "oblique" about the whole procedure and it was unworthy of the Archbishop to use such a word to describe a lawful Elective Assembly. I had a very kind reply from Dean Butler, who was just as indignant as I was. And he was able to put pressure upon the Archbishop so that when the Charge was finally revised and published in the Volume "Fishers of Men" (p. 9), the word "obliquely" was changed into "*independently*," to which no one could object. The South African Church is independent of the State and as such acts "*independently*" in the election of her Bishops. I was always glad I had written to Dean Butler about this matter.

## I Take B.D. at Cambridge.

At the close of my English visit I went to Cambridge to take my B.D. Degree. It was a difficult task, for the Cambridge Divinity Degrees were reformed in their procedure by the influence of Lightfoot, Westcott and Hart, some ten years previously. The old system of proceeding by a Thesis was practically abolished, and they became "Research Degrees" in the higher branches of Theology, Criticism and Church History. The candidate for B.D. or D.D. had to write a book involving some original research upon a subject previously approved by the Divinity Professors. The study of the Canon Law, which had been lost since the Reformation, was revived under the "Church History" side of subjects permissible for study, and consequently I wrote a book

on the "Constitutions and Canons of the Anglican Communion" outside the Established Church. It was quite untrodden ground, and my book, under the title of "The Church and the Civil Power," still holds the field as the leading authority on the subject. I carefully analysed the Constitution and Canons of theAmerican Church of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, and compared them with the standard Canon Law of Christendom. I preached the two statutory sermons for the B.D. and D.D. Degree in the University Church after I had taken the B.D. in the Senate House, which brought back memories of old days when I took B.A. and M.A., and I was naturally much gratified that nearly all the available Magdalene Dons attended to see me take the B.D. This is one of the advantages of belonging to one of the smaller colleges. Your name is remembered, and you can keep touch with your old college. I have always had the most kindly welcome at Magdalene whenever I have been to England, and on my last visit my portrait, painted by my niece, Frances Wirgman, who has become a successful artist, was placed in the new Lecture Hall. But this by the way.

When I was up for the B.D. I stayed at King's as the guest of Canon Churton, who possessed an encyclopedic knowledge of our Missionary and Colonial work all over the world. I found him most interesting and we frequently corresponded. I was allowed the privilege of smoking in the Senior Common Room, as Canon Churton was an anti-tobacconist. I brought some Transvaal tobacco with me, and South Africans know that its aroma differs strongly from that of the American tobacco usually smoked in England. A charming old gentleman entered the Common Room and began to sniff audibly. I apologised for the Transvaal fragrance, and he introduced himself as Professor Ball, the Astronomer Royal of Ireland, and now a fellow of King's. We had a delightful talk, and I was glad to meet a man so distinguished and brilliant in his own special line. He was

always most successful as a popular lecturer. Few men of science can combine as he did public and scientific gifts.

### Opening of the Imperial Institute.

In 1893 I was present, as a guest invited by the Colonial Office, at the splendid ceremony of the opening of the Imperial Institute by Queen Victoria in Royal State. She was very rheumatic, and had to be lifted up the steps to the dais by the Prince of Wales (King Edward VII) and the Duke of Edinburgh. This was the first great occasion on which Colonial troops appeared in the streets of London. I remember admiring the Canadian Artillery and the Australian Lancers. Archbishop Benson was there, driving through the streets in an open landau in all the glory of his Convocation robes, amidst the cheers of the crowd. Soon after I saw a closed landau drive up, whose occupant evidently desired to avoid public notice as he quietly alighted. It was Frederick Temple, Bishop of London, afterwards Primate of all England. The difference in their mode of arrival was characteristically typical of the two men.

I went to the evening conversazione given by the Prince of Wales, and I saw a notable Assembly. Gladstone was there leaning on the arm of his faithful follower, Lord Spencer. His progress was followed by hisses from the crowd, and I found that a crowd of carefully chosen guests in evening dress could be as unmannerly as a crowd in the streets—of course in a more subdued way. Apropos of this incident, which occurred in the midst of the controversy caused by Gladstone's Home Rule Bill, the G.O.M. retained his imperturbable dignity of manner. His only reported remark was: "I never before knew that *Spencer* was so unpopular". As the royal procession passed through a narrow corridor lined closely with loyal guests, the Duke of York (now George V) with his destined bride, Princess May, on his arm,

was pushed out of the procession (by pressure of the crowd) close up against me. I pushed back the crowd, who readily gave way, so that he could rejoin the procession. Princess May laughed at the *contretemps*, and the Duke bowed his thanks with a genial smile. I was in London a few weeks afterwards when they were married—a marriage so full of promise for the Empire, which has been so amply redeemed by King George and Queen Mary.

### The Home Rule Bill in the Commons.

I had met Sir Thomas Esmonde, the chief Whip of the Irish party, when he toured the Colonies to enlist Colonial support for Home Rule. Most Colonists, even Tories like myself, believe that Ireland is as much entitled to self-government as Australia, Canada or New Zealand. The grant of self-government to South Africa after a war of independence of a very bitter character has been amply justified by results, notwithstanding the disgraceful and childish rebellion of 1914. Therefore I am, and always have been, a convinced Home Ruler.

### Dinner at the House with the Irish Party.

Sir Thomas asked me to attend a debate of the House of Commons, and to dine afterwards in the House with the leaders of the Irish party. The debate was on the Home Rule Bill, and it preceded by a few days the memorable scene when Col. Saunderson and other Unionist members got to fisticuffs with the Irish party on the floor of the House of Commons.

### Dr. Tanner.

At dinner I sat next to the famous Dr. Tanner, who was socially a most charming and pleasant person, with the stamp of "Wykehamist" underlying the readiness and occasional truculence of the typical Irishman spoiling for a fight. On

one occasion Dr. Tanner was much annoyed by the Liberal Unionists who insisted on sharing the front Opposition bench with their deadly party rivals, the Gladstonians. Mr. Gladstone and Lord Hartington, Mr. Chamberlain and Sir W. Harcourt, sat cheek by jowl, and this was a sore hindrance to private asides and confidential whisperings amongst the Gladstonians. One day Dr. Tanner came into the House early, and took his seat in the midst of a group of militant young Tories. This desertion of the Irish benches on Dr. Tanner's part was a breach of the unwritten rules of the House. The young Tories were indignant and made uncomplimentary remarks concerning Dr. Tanner, *sotto voce*. Here was the opportunity he was waiting for. "Mr. Speaker," he said, "one of the honourable members near me has called me a *baste!* I invoke the protection of the Chair." The urbane and dignified Speaker fell headlong into Dr. Tanner's trap. He remarked that "it was unusual for an honourable member to seat himself deliberately side by side with his political opponents". Dr. Tanner rose, and solemnly pointed to the front Opposition bench. The House was naturally convulsed, and Dr. Tanner crossed the floor to his usual seat on the Irish benches. A man who could plan and successfully carry out a *coup* of this kind may certainly lay claim to political originality.

Shortly after this we returned to South Africa.

One of our fellow-passengers was General Willoughby, the strange adventurer who led the forces of the Queen of Madagascar against the French. He was a typical soldier of fortune with a chequered career. He gave us some very strange demonstrations of his powers as a hypnotist on the voyage out.

### Abbot Franz of Marienhill.

On the return voyage I made the acquaintance of Abbot Franz, the founder of the great Trappist Mission at Marienhill

in Natal. He was a delightful person and used to come to our Daily Matins during the voyage. I showed him S. Mary's, Port Elizabeth, when we landed, and he was very pleased. He said to me afterwards in his queer English "Calvinists no good! Lutherans no good! English Church and us are good! So!" He did a wonderful work amongst the Zulus, which his successors in office have worthily carried on. I think he was a German Swiss, but I have often noticed that foreign Roman Catholics are more broad-minded than their English co-religionists, who are bitter with the memories of the Penal Laws, which are national sins for which we may believe God has forgiven us, if the English and Irish Roman Catholics have not.

## CHAPTER VII.

Literary Work—The Burning of S. Mary's in 1895—The Work of Restoration—My Visits to Bloemfontein, Johannesburg and Pretoria—My Interview with President Kruger—The Jameson Raid and its Cause and Consequences—The Provincial Synod of 1898—The Beginning of the Boer War.

### Literary Work.

During my visit to England in 1893 I published my "History of the English Church and People in South Africa". It was written for the S.P.C.K. series of "Colonial Church Histories". But it was too strong meat for them to publish. I told the truth about Archbishop Tait and the Colenso case. The S.P.C.K. sent my book, in proof, to the South African Bishops for advice. Bishop Hamilton Baynes of Natal, the nominee of Archbishop Benson, who afterwards wrote on the subject himself as plainly as I did, objected to my treatment of certain matters. But Archbishop West-Jones of Capetown approved of what I had written, and so I published the book myself, apart from the S.P.C.K. I also began on my return to South Africa the *magnum opus* of my life, on "The Doctrine of Confirmation". Canon Mason had published his well-known book on the subject, in which he virtually amalgamated Confirmation with Baptism and denied that it was a separate Sacrament with its own distinctive grace and efficacy. Canon Bright and Archdeacon Hutchings, two of our greatest living theologians, encouraged me to oppose

Canon Mason's standpoint, which seemed to them, as it did to me, a novelty in doctrine unknown to the history and teaching of the Catholic Church for eighteen centuries. Canon Bright, in his terse way, said that it was curious if the true doctrine had been obscured for so many centuries and only left for Canon Mason to discover in the nineteenth century. Mine was indeed a formidable task. I had to write in South Africa away from great libraries, and with the cares of a town parish on my hands. But I did my best, and I humbly think that I disproved Canon Mason's theory effectually. I examined not only all the Patristic passages bearing on Confirmation, but all the teaching of the great theologians, century by century, up to the date of the Reformation. I was fortunate enough to find a copy of Witasse on Confirmation in Migne's "Theologiae Cursus," which was invaluable in its exhaustive Conciliar and Patristic references. I may say, without undue presumption, that my book still holds the field as the fullest treatise on the subject by any Anglican writer. I was reading it again myself the other day, and I thought it was difficult and rather dry. But it was meant more as a book of reference than a popular essay. As such it still has its uses. I was hard at work upon it when my literary labours were suddenly interrupted by a disastrous calamity.

## S. Mary's Destroyed by Fire.

S. Mary's, Port Elizabeth, just after the twentieth anniversary of my appointment as Rector, was destroyed by fire. There had been a long drought and the woodwork burnt like tinder. I was roused, on March 9th, 1895, at twelve o'clock at night by the cry of "Fire!" The rectory is close to the church, but by the time I got there the roof was ablaze. Nothing could be saved, except the small vestry used by the choir. I can never forget that terrible night. Fortunately there was no wind or the fire might have spread to other

The Old S. Mary's, Port Elizabeth

buildings. The flames roared from the top of the tower, which acted as a funnel to draw them upwards. We lost a fine peal of eight tubular bells, and at 3 a.m. the roof fell in and the building was completely gutted. The fire brigade was very active—too active in my own case, for I got deluged by the hose of a zealous fireman, an experience which very nearly made me lose my temper—but every effort was useless. At 6 a.m. the flames were subdued, and as I stood in the midst of the charred ruins, I prayed to God that we might be able to raise a more beautiful and glorious church from the ashes of the past. We began to search the ruins, and found some of our treasures. The Eagle from the Lectern was iron gilt, and it was saved when the brass pedestal was melted. It is of beautiful design and is still in use, on its new pedestal. The jewelled silver-gilt Altar Plate was saved, though its case was burnt to ashes. It has been beautifully restored, and is now in use. An old Paten of the year 1836, with the names of the then Rector and Churchwardens on it, was also saved. The Bishop's Crozier was found broken in two, and it was cleverly mended and restored. It formerly belonged to Bishop Merriman, and was placed by the Bishop's Throne in S. Mary's when Bishop Webb made it a Collegiate Church in 1888. We immediately set to work on plans for the Restoration, which it was found would cost about £12,000, and to meet it we had only £6000 from insurance. This was a lesson to me, when I was made Archdeacon, for South African Archdeacons are held responsible for adequate fire insurances upon the Church buildings in their Archdeaconries. I took good care to see that other parishes did not suffer as S. Mary's had done from inadequate insurance.

### Rhodes' Gift to S. Mary's.

We had a parish meeting to decide about the restoration, and the people were stirred to a great effort. I felt that it

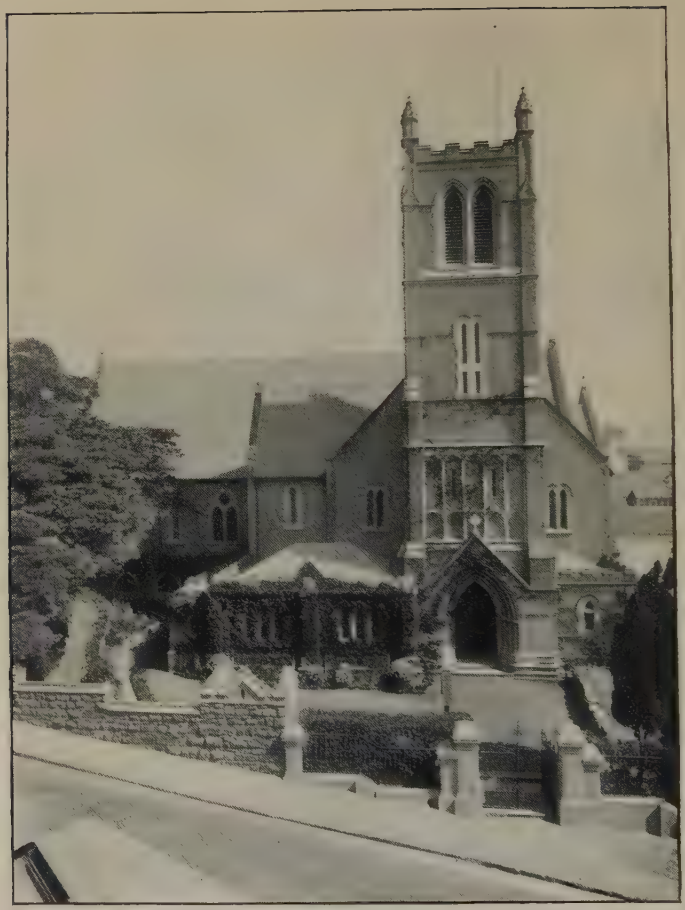
was wiser under the circumstances to take the whole financial responsibility myself, for there were timorous counsels about cutting down expenditure. My friend Cecil Rhodes saved the situation for me. He was keen on good architecture and took some trouble about S. Mary's. He was Premier at the time, and asked me to take the architect's plans to his office, where, busy though he was, he spent half an hour in a detailed examination of them. The plans were good, and he liked them very much. At last he said to me, "You must not spoil these plans by cutting them down for the sake of economy. Here is a little to help you, *if you promise to carry out the plans as they are.*" He tossed a cheque for £250 across the table to me, and said, "I wish I could do more". I said that I felt he had done more for us than I had any right to expect. On my return to Port Elizabeth I said that if I did not carry out the plans *as they were*, I felt bound in honour to return Rhodes' cheque. I never had any further difficulty.

### S. Mary's Founded in 1825.

The cheque was used to build the cloisters round the choir of S. Mary's as a special memorial of Cecil Rhodes, and an inscription records the fact. The walls of the nave were standing, and I was glad that we could still use them, for the nave was the original church, of which the foundation stone was laid on October 6th, 1825. The minutes of the first Building Committee are still preserved, and the portrait of Captain Evatt, the first Magistrate of Port Elizabeth, who founded S. Mary's, is in the Chapter-room. S. Mary's thus ante-dates the Catholic Revival of 1833 by some years, which is a very respectable antiquity for a Colonial Church fabric.

### Gladstone's Letter.

The church was considerably improved in 1842, and amongst the Vestry Archives I found a letter to the Rector



*Middlebrook Studios, Port Elizabeth*

THE NEW S. MARY'S

and Churchwardens written by Mr. Gladstone, who was then Under-Secretary for the Colonies, congratulating the Rector and Churchwardens upon the completion of the building.

### Details of the Restoration.

For eighteen months we had to use the City Hall for Sunday worship, and the work of restoration seemed very tedious. The choir was entirely rebuilt and enlarged with the new cloisters round it. It is spacious and dignified, being 60 feet long by 27 in width. It contains the Bishop's Throne, and twenty-two clergy stalls in addition to the choir stalls. Besides the stalls for the Chapter, there are honorary stalls for every diocese in the Province, with the coat-of-arms of each See on the walls behind each stall, emblazoned in the proper heraldic colours. The reredos of Caen stone is a *replica* of the one destroyed by the fire. It was executed locally by a clever Italian sculptor, and it cost £600, a large sum out of our limited resources. We also built a new organ chamber and had to spend over £1200 on our organ. We added a Chapter-room, two choir vestries, and a room for the collegiate library which was for diocesan use, and the architect contrived a most useful Sacristy behind the Altar and Reredos. The stained glass windows in the choir and nave are very beautiful. One is fifteenth-century glass with a curious history. It was bought at Cologne by a relative of the Rev. Precentor Mayo (who has served S. Mary's since 1883), in the beginning of the nineteenth century. For eighty years it was in a church in Highgate. Structural alterations caused it to be removed, and it was given back to the Mayo family. Mr. Mayo gave it to S. Mary's, and a window in the nave was adapted for its use. The subject is the Resurrection, and the drawing of the figures and the colouring are excellent. The choir

windows and the Madonna window in the nave are by Hector Butler and Bayne, and are very fine specimens of their art. We had to replace memorials destroyed by the fire and this made our restoration additionally costly. We had some generous help. Mr. Douglas Horsfall of Liverpool, who had given me £100 when I built the district church of S. Cuthbert's in 1884, gave £100 for our library books and enabled me to refound our Theological Library. We also had a generous gift of duplicates from St. Deiniol's Library, Hawarden, through Mr. Gladstone's son-in-law, Canon Drew. The Rev. J. E. Vaux also left us by will his own theological library. The whole of S. Mary's library is now carefully catalogued and is most useful to the clergy.

### Visit to Bloemfontein and Johannesburg.

After Easter in 1895 I went to Bloemfontein for the consecration of my old friend Bishop Gaul to the See of Mashonaland. I went on to Johannesburg and Pretoria. At Bloemfontein I met the notorious Karl Borckenhagen, whom I mentioned before as carrying on a bitter propaganda against Mr. Rhodes, and as vehemently and rabidly anti-British. The beginnings of the German propaganda in South Africa may well be traced to him, though he died before their full development. He was very civil to me, and showed me the Forts and the Headquarters of the Free State Artillery. The horses and equipments were very good, but the Forts did not amount to much.

I was very much struck with the extraordinary development of Johannesburg, since its gold fields were started in 1887. One of the first permanent buildings was S. Mary's Church, of which my old friend the Rev. J. T. Darragh, B.D., was the first Rector. He was the first priest in the "Golden City," and did heroic work under many and serious difficulties, till his resignation from ill health in 1909. The

original S. Mary's was a large Parish Hall, and I preached on a Sunday evening to a large congregation, mainly composed of men. It was an inspiring opportunity. Johannesburg is a city of contrasts. There were fine buildings in those days mingled with tin shanties. The streets were dusty and ill kept. The perpetual roar of the mine batteries, which crushed the quartz, reminded one of the thunder of the surf on our exposed South Coast after a gale. At night the incessant roar of the batteries still more vividly reminded one of the sea, Though South Africa is a vast sub-continent it is curious how people know each other. I was stopped time after time in the streets by old friends and acquaintances, and when I went to the Stock Exchange so many came up to greet me that there was a temporary interruption of business. The new population contained a large proportion of British Cape Colonists, many of whom knew me by name or personally. I found very kind help for my effort to rebuild S. Mary's, Port Elizabeth. Sir George Farrar (whose death on active service in South-West Africa occurred in 1915) helped me, and his brother gave a memorial stained-glass window to the church. Another Johannesburg man gave a memorial window, and Sir Lionel Phillips helped me to replace our lost military memorials and tablets.

### Call on President Kruger.

I went on to Pretoria. The republican officials of the Transvaal were of a different type to the Free Staters. The Hollander element was much in evidence, and one felt in a foreign country. Most of the coinage was adorned with the homely features of President Kruger, whom I met personally in the course of my visit. I called at the Presidency and was well received for two reasons. My name did not sound British, and some of my book on South African History had been translated to the President. I found him smoking a

huge pipe of Transvaal tobacco. His secretary offered me a cigar, but I asked the President for some tobacco from his pouch, which seemed to please him. I lighted up, and presently the cover of his pipe rolled off under my chair. I thoughtlessly picked it up, forgetting that it was hot, and I dropped it pretty quickly. The President roared with laughter at my discomfiture, and then we began to talk. He told me that he liked my book, and that I had written very fairly about the Boers. He told me how furious he was with Lord Rosebery's Government for sending that miserable Natal Governor (Sir W. Hely-Hutchinson) to annex Kosi Bay, and cut him off from a possible seaport. "I am shut up in a kraal," he said.

I suggested to him that England had annexed this "No-man's land" in order to be able to convey it legally to him in the future, if he chose to bargain about it, and concede some of our demands in other directions. He admitted that he had not thought of this.

I asked him what he thought of Cecil Rhodes. His reply was characteristic. He said, "Your British Government stabs me in the back, when I am not looking, but Cecil Rhodes comes at me in *front*, and gives me a punch on the nose, which is better". I gave him a hint that his "Reptile Press" was a danger to peace, and that he ought to control it. "Well," he said, "we shall see about that."

Incidentally he gave me the impression of acute megalomania, tempered by shrewdness. I suppose I must have impressed him favourably, for he sent me £5 towards the Restoration Fund of S. Mary's, which I believe is the only instance of his ever giving anything to the English Church, which he and his Dopper brethren considered to be "Romish".

In acknowledging his subscription I made bold to explain to him the position of the English Church in South Africa in the following letter:—

"S. Mary's Rectory,
"Port Elizabeth,
"*September 23rd*, 1895.

"To His Honour the State President of
the South African Republic.

"My Dear Sir,

"I desire to convey to you my grateful thanks for your very kind gift to the fund for restoring S. Mary's Church after its destruction by fire. S. Mary's is the oldest English Church in the Eastern Province of the Cape Colony and it is very pleasing to me to know that directly after the fire the Bond Congress passed a resolution of sympathy with me and my people, and that you, as the leading Statesman of the Dutch Afrikanders, should send your gift to be laid on the Memorial Stone of the restored building.

"I am glad that I can take the opportunity afforded by your kindness to explain to you the position of the English Church in South Africa. The Bishops and clergy of the English Church do not forget that for 150 years the Dutch Reformed Church was planted in Africa before the coming of the English in 1795. We always desire to maintain the most friendly relations with the Dutch Reformed Church, and the Bishop of Capetown, as our Metropolitan or chief Bishop, always attends the opening of the Dutch Synod in Capetown as a mark of courtesy and friendliness. Some people have a prejudice against the English Church in South Africa because they think it is Romish in its tendencies. This is an untrue charge, because the Church of England must be judged by its Prayer Book and Articles of Religion, which are opposed to the errors of the Church of Rome. In the 6th Article of Religion of the Church of England, the Bible is set up as the standard of our faith, and no one in the Church of England is required to believe anything that cannot be proved out of the Scriptures.

"I feel bound to say this much, Mr. President, because I know that many of my friends amongst Dutch Afrikanders do

not understand the Church of England, and are prejudiced against it. But you believe that 'righteousness exalteth a nation'. Not long ago I told the Johannesburg people that the piety of the Voortrekkers was the true basis of national life, and therefore I address you on the subject of the Church of England, because it is the religion of very many of the 'Uitlanders' in your State. You want those men to become good burghers of the Transvaal. They will be better men if their religion is understood and encouraged by the Head of the State. The English Church in the Transvaal does not ask for any privileges above *other religious bodies*, and it does not desire them, but I feel sure that your Government will do all that it fairly can to help the English Church Schools where the Bible is taught to the children and a religious education is given.

"It will be interesting to you, as a Statesman, to notice that the English Church in South Africa is united under *one* Synod and one set of Church Laws. The Bishops of the Republics have equal rights with the Bishops of the Colonies under the English Flag, and the whole body of the English Church in South Africa makes its own laws and governs itself without any interference from England. The unity of the Ten English Bishops and dioceses in *one South African Church* may be perhaps a forerunner of a United South Africa, although our Bishops and clergy do not concern themselves directly with politics. I hope that one day the Dutch and English Churches may be united upon the basis of '*the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship*' (Acts ii. verse 42) without any sacrifice of principles on either side.

"Again thanking you for your very kind gift,

"Believe me, Mr. President,

"Your obedient faithful servant,

"A. Theodore Wirgman, B.D., D.C.L.,

"*Vice-Provost of S. Mary's*

"*Collegiate Church, Port Elizabeth.*"

### His Strange Personality.

His large reception room was lit with electric light. I heard a queer story about his use of it, which is so characteristic of him that I believe it to be true. Two of his "Backveld" burghers called on him one day and he turned on the electric light for their delectation. He then turned to them and asked them to blow it out. They blew vigorously at one of the globes. "Blow harder!" said the President. "Ach! you are no good." He then went to the other end of the room where the switch was and stood in front of it with his hand on it behind his back so that they could not see it. "Kyk hoe uw President kan blas," he said (See how your President can blow). He drew a long breath and blew vigorously, as he switched off the light with his thumb. The simple Boers were dumfounded. Said they, "Maar onze President kan mooi blas" (Our President can blow well), and they departed full of wonder at the powers of their "Grand Old Man". This fondness for a practical joke was characteristic of Paul Kruger. He was obstinate and truculent, but he had his racy human side, although its methods of expression were somewhat coarse. He despised the English, but on occasions he did not spare his own burghers, or his political opponents. One of the old-fashioned Transvaalers had an educated son. He applied to the President for a Civil Service billet for his son, and criticised the policy of filling the Civil Service with Hollanders instead of men born in the country. "Baboons are born in the country as well as your son" was the gruff reply of the irate old President. Kruger had strong political opponents, for some of the best of the Transvaalers saw that his policy would inevitably lead to war with England. General Joubert, the victor of Majuba, stood against him for the presidency and openly advocated a less aggressive policy, although he still hoped for Afrikander predominance in South

Africa. Louis Botha, a young member of the Volksraad, was in opposition to the President's policy in those days. And, although when war was declared he fought for his country, his early views in favour of South African peace and unity explained his subsequent loyal adherence to the policy of Union within the Empire, which he has so faithfully carried out as the first Union Prime Minister, and as the successful General who led the Union Army to the conquest of German South-West Africa.

### S. Mary's Foundation Stone.

In September, 1895, I had the joy of witnessing the laying of the Foundation Stone of the new Choir of S. Mary's. The ceremony was "masonic" and the stone was laid by Dr. Egan, the District Grand Master, in the presence of the District Grand Lodge of the Eastern division of South Africa. I followed the "Truro form" in combining the religious and masonic ceremonial. At the time I was Master of our local Lodge, and one of the Grand Wardens of our Grand Lodge. Each mason laid his offering upon the Stone, and we had a goodly and helpful collection.

### The Jameson Raid.

At the close of 1895 there was grave unrest in the Transvaal, which culminated in the Jameson Raid in the first week of 1896. The Johannesburg people were tired of heavy taxation without votes or representation in the Parliament of the Transvaal. There were two undercurrents at work. There was a cosmopolitan group, led by Mr. Hays-Hammond, an American engineer, who wanted to overthrow Kruger's pastoral republic, and replace it by a republic of cosmopolitan financiers. And then there was the group who desired to place the Transvaal once more under the British flag.

Rhodes worked with this group, which was led by his brother Colonel Frank Rhodes and the Farrars. Johannesburg revolted under a "Reform Committee" in which both elements were represented. Kruger waited for them to commit some overt act and held his burghers ready for instant mobilisation.

"Wait," he said, "till the Johannesburg tortoise puts its head out, and I will strike". The situation was perilous. The Imperial Government allowed Rhodes to put a "corps of observation" on the Transvaal frontier to provide for the possible contingency of an attack on Johannesburg, which would have imperilled the lives of thousands of British subjects. Dr. Jameson, the Administrator of Rhodesia, was on the spot in command of the force. One night an emissary from the cosmopolitan group in Johannesburg came to his camp. Jameson saw that the Republic of cosmopolitans would be just as hostile to the British flag as Kruger's Government, so he made up his mind to strike without orders. He cut the wires and marched for Johannesburg. His act was politically indefensible, and Rhodes chivalrously accepted the blame for a rash action that he had never sanctioned or ordered. When I heard the news it seemed to me incredible, but I knew from the first that Rhodes could not have sanctioned it. Rhodes was no actor, and quite incapable of posing. He was always most punctilious in his dealings with Government House. But when he heard the news of the Jameson Raid, he rushed off to Government House without his hat, and burst unceremoniously into the presence of Sir Hercules Robinson with his tidings. Afterwards he shut himself up in his house at Groot Schuur, and would see no one, until he had made up his mind what to do. His personal link with Jameson was so close, and his affection for him was so great, that his first thought was how to save his friend from the death penalty which he had justly incurred. Jameson too was chivalrous. When his force

surrendered, he at once said "Let these men go, and shoot me". But drastic action of this kind was foreign to the purposes of Kruger and his Hollander entourage.

### The Kaiser's Telegram.

The Kaiser's famous telegram of sympathy had come, which, as we know now, was not his own impulsive act, but the deliberate and carefully determined policy of the German Foreign Office. A short, sharp, and dramatic ending to the Raid was bad policy. Kruger saw that it could be utilised to ruin Rhodes, embarrass the British Government, and strengthen the war party in the Transvaal.

### The Matabele Rebellion.

Rhodes resigned the Premiership of the Cape, and set off for Rhodesia, where the general South African unrest had culminated in a serious native revolt. Jameson was tried and imprisoned in Holloway Gaol, and Colonel Frank Rhodes, Farrar, and other leading members of the Johannesburg Reform Committee were tried and sentenced, some to death and others to heavy fines and long terms of imprisonment. Sir Lionel Phillips was banished for life from the Transvaal, and went to live at Rome, where he helped the Italian Government with the excavations of the Forum. The death sentences were ultimately remitted, but enormous fines of £25,000 per head were exacted, and Rhodes paid a large proportion of them out of his own pocket.

### Rhodes ends it.

He ended the rebellion in Matabeleland by an act of great personal courage. He went, unarmed, with three or four followers, to meet the Matabele "Indunas," and after a

memorable and dramatic interview, arrived at conditions of peace which have never since been broken.

I saw him, just after this event, on his way to England to stand his trial before the Parliamentary Commission, and I heard him make the famous speech about the "unctuous rectitude" of some of his critics. I knew exactly what he meant, and we have had the same sort of thing in the speeches of some of our "Pacificists" since the Great War of 1914 began.

### Easter Camp in 1896.

At Easter, 1896, the whole country was in a ferment, Sir Gordon Sprigg succeeded Rhodes as Premier, and did what he could to quieten the land. He ordered the usual Easter Brigade Camps of the colonial forces to be held, and over a thousand men were encamped at Cradock, which is a very strong Dutch centre in the Eastern Province.

### My Sermon at Church Parade.

I went into camp with them as Brigade Chaplain and on Easter Day I borrowed the huge Dutch Church for the Church Parade, as there was no other building in Craddock large enough to hold the troops. As Bishop Gray had availed himself of the occasional use of the Dutch Reformed fabrics, which the courtesy of the Moderator had placed at his disposal in the early days, I felt that I might follow his example. The church was full of troops, but in a semi-circle round the pulpit I saw, somewhat to my discomfiture, the Elders of the "Kerk-Raad," sitting in solemn array. I knew that they had enough English to follow my sermon, and as I meant to allude to the Raid and the disturbed state of the country, I wished they had not been there. The country was distracted from end to end by violent statements about the

Raid, and seemed almost on the edge of civil war. I made some plain statements about Imperial and South African loyalty and citizenship. I pointed out that S. Paul was an Imperial citizen of Rome as well as a patriot Jew, and deduced the analogy. I said, "We are citizens of the world-wide Empire of Great Britain. Our loyalty to our Imperial citizenship centres round one glorious flag and one Throne which is the centre and symbol of our unity. But this Imperial loyalty does not conflict with the idea of our Empire being a federation of nations, each of which is animated by an ardent local patriotism. The loyalty of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand to the Empire as a whole does not conflict with the local patriotism of the Canadian, Australian, or New Zealander for his own country and people. And we South Africans are loyal to the wider citizenship of the Empire, whilst at the same time we own our local patriotism and loyalty to our own South African nation. My comrades-in-arms, you are here to-day in furtherance of your loyalty to the Empire and to our own country. You have done, and are doing hard work, and your camp of instruction is a reality and not a holiday picnic. I have had the honour of addressing, at one time or another, nearly every regiment in this brigade during my twenty-one years' service as Chaplain to the Colonial Forces. I had to preach to troops going to the front in the war of 1877, after Isandhlwana in 1879, and during the Basuto campaign. But never have I felt the responsibility more than I do to-day in

THE PRESENT MOST SERIOUS CRISIS

in South African affairs. The outlook is indeed gloomy. The two European races are stirred by the unhappy events of the beginning of the year into a revival of racial hatred which we hoped was buried for ever. As a priest of the Church of God it is my duty to set forward peace and unity by every means in my power. In my humble way I can

honestly say that I have striven to promote unity and concord between English and Dutch in South Africa. I desire to acknowledge the courtesy of the authorities of the Dutch Reformed Church for permitting us to use this noble building for our parade service this day, and I desire to say nothing to touch the susceptibilities of my fellow-citizens. But I am bound to say this much. Is there a legitimate cause for this deplorable discord? Can we not look facts squarely in the face by the light of common sense, and get away from the heated atmosphere of lying rumours and sensational reports? To begin with, let us remember the good and true side to the characters of the chief actors in our present political strife. A man's past is not to be forgotten because he has done something of which we disapprove in the present. The Sunday after the surrender at Krugersdorp, the Bishop of Grahamstown paid a touching tribute from the pulpit of his Cathedral to the unfailing devotion shown by Dr. Jameson to the sick poor of Kimberley, and the helpful courtesy he had shown to the Sisters of Mercy in their work. These things

OUGHT NOT TO BE FORGOTTEN,

nor the brilliant services rendered by the late Administrator of Rhodesia, by the persons who so glibly condemn him as a common criminal. Nor can any South African, whether of Dutch or English descent, take a less generous estimate of the career of that great statesman, Mr. Rhodes, the late Premier of the Colony, than Mr. Chamberlain did in his speech in the Imperial Parliament. A frank and ungrudging recognition of the great services rendered by both these men to South Africa is demanded in the name of justice, common sense and Christian charity. Until we take a calm estimate of men and measures, there can be no stable peace in South Africa. Each of us can do something to promote peace, and the steady discipline and organisation of the

Colonial forces will be a valuable factor in ensuring the true peace of the country." The preacher concluded his address by reminding his hearers that Easter was the dawn of all true hope for humanity. The children of the Resurrection are "free born" in very truth "for their citizenship is in Heaven". "If," he said, "we believe in God, and trust in the regenerating power of the risen Christ to solace the vexed problems of a fallen world, we shall endure the true peace of Heaven to our country and to ourselves!"

After this plain speech I rather wondered what the Dutch Reformed Minister and his Elders would say to me. But they all shook hands with me after the service, and assured me that I had not offended them or hurt their feelings.

I felt that I had a right to follow Bishop Webb's lead in defending Dr. Jameson as a man and as a capable administrator of Rhodesia, for which he had already been made a C.B. He was in prison, and thousands of tongues were let loose to defame him. After he was released from Holloway Gaol I met him at a dinner given to welcome him back by Rhodes at Groot Schuur. I sat next to him, and he had the same charm of personal magnetism which his Chief possessed. I ventured one remark about the Raid. I said that I thought his action was dictated by his intention to defeat the German intrigues and the idea of a cosmopolitan republic of financiers. He replied in the affirmative.

It is a very remarkable tribute to his personality that he lived down the obloquy of the "Raid," and became a *persona grata* to the Dutch, as Premier of the Cape after the Boer War. His policy of conciliation did much to pave the way for the future union of South Africa.

## Mark Twain.

While the Johannesburg "Reform leaders" were in prison at Pretoria, Mark Twain came to South Africa on a lecturing

tour. There was a pathos about it, for the gallant old man was touring the world to make money to pay debts incurred by the default of others, just as Sir Walter Scott did in his closing years. He lectured at Port Elizabeth and I called on him. We had an interesting talk, and he amused me hugely by his ideas on the South African political situation. He had just come from Pretoria where he had been to see the Reformers in prison. "Sir," he said, "I came to South Africa as a Republican full of sympathy with a poor down-trodden republic quivering under the paw of the British lion. I have talked to your 'Reform' prisoners, and have wondered ever since why Great Britain allows that darned one-horse Boer republic to last another forty-eight hours!" He was a striking-looking old gentleman, and his massive head and flowing locks contrasted somewhat oddly with his nether extremities, which were clad in red carpet slippers. He was *en déshabillé* at his hotel, and said to me, "I must have my morning exercise! Will you have a game of billiards?" I readily agreed, and then he said "I always play with a *slate* and *pencil*". "What for?" I asked. "Oh! to score *flukes* on," he replied. "All *my* flukes will count to your score and *yours* to mine." We started and he led off with a palpable and outrageous fluke. "Give me the slate," I said. "Sir," said Mark Twain, "that was a noble shot. Didn't you see the *science* of it?" I laughed and let him have his way. I have played many games of billiards, but that was the most amusing game I ever had. His racy talk and queer humour were most delightful, and when I beat him, flukes and all, I was glad it was a close enough game to keep him keen on it to the very end. I heard his lecture, which was evidently a strain on him, and when he left I saw him off by the train. I told him how fond old Bishop Merriman used to be of his books, and that the Bishop, when he was on visitation on horseback, used to travel light, and carry with him only *a Bible, a Prayer Book, and a volume of Mark*

*Twain's*. Out came his note-book. "Tell me that again," he said, "I must remember that old Bishop's name." And down it all went. I said I was sorry that he did not tell us at his lecture the story of his duel with the editor who was so thin that when he fired at him he hit him "plumb-centre and split *the bullet!*" "Where did you get that from?" he said. "It comes from a book which I published in America years ago, which I didn't think had reached England." I told him I had seen and read the book, which was one of his early efforts. We said "Good-bye," and I was always glad that I had met him. As is well known, his plucky effort to pay his debts was successful, but the strain was too great. He did not long survive the effort.

### Consecration of the Choir of S. Mary's.

In September, 1896, Bishop Webb consecrated the new choir of S. Mary's, and we came back to our ancient home of worship, after eighteen months' exile, during which we held our services in the City Hall. Not long afterwards Rhodes came to Port Elizabeth. He was full of public engagements, but found time to see S. Mary's. I had put a small tablet in the cloisters recording the fact that his gift had built them. He was very pleased with the work, but when his eye caught the tablet he ran his thumb over his name and said "You shouldn't have put that up. I have done so little. You are still in debt; shall I give you some more?" I said, "No, Mr. Rhodes, you have done quite enough for us, with all your other claims. Port Elizabeth must do the rest." He seemed pleased at my independence, for he was not used to a suggestion that he had *done enough* for any friend or object. People rather plundered him, and he had really been very generous to us. I think he respected me for this, just as he did when I differed from his views, and told him so plainly, as I did on several occasions. I think that at times he was

bored by his immediate circle, who were a little too ready to agree with whatever he said.

### V.D. Conferred on me at Church Parade.

Not long after the church was reopened we had a large Church Parade at St. Mary's to dedicate the Memorial Tablets to men of the local regiment who had fallen in the campaigns of 1877, '80 and '81, which had replaced those destroyed by S. Mary's fire. The Navy was represented by the Captain and Officers of H.M.S. *Fox*, and the Uitenhage Rifles and Grahamstown 1st City Regiment paraded with our local regiment. There were 450 on parade and before the service I was decorated by Colonel Gordon (commanding our local regiment, Prince Alfred's Guard) with the Imperial Long Service Decoration, known as the V.D. It implied twenty years' consecutive "commissioned service," and I was, and am, very proud of it. Bishop Webb dedicated the Tablets, and preached an excellent sermon at the Church Parade. I was promoted "Hon. Major" of the Colonial Forces in 1886, and in 1901, as the senior chaplain by date of commission, I was gazetted "Hon. Lt.-Colonel".

### Bechuanaland Campaign.

In 1897 the Cape Colony was again involved in a Native war. The Bechuanaland Natives in the Langberg district went into open rebellion, and the Government had to send a force of some 2500 men to restore order. Most of the Colonial regiments furnished an "Active Service Detachment," and at a farewell parade of the Service Detachment of Prince Alfred's Guard I addressed the men as follows: "The expedition in which you are taking part is no child's play. You will need to practice all the lessons taught you in the way of discipline. You must be prepared to undergo hardships. Each man is a

link in the chain of service, and every link should bear its strain in maintaining the honour of the flag under which you serve. Remember that the weakest link indicates the strength of the whole chain. Let each man consider the honour of the regiment identical with his own honour. Personally I feel sure that every man of the detachment will prove himself a worthy citizen of the town he lives in, and that you will add another to the list of honours that already graces the colours of Prince Alfred's Guard. I trust that this sixth Active Service Detachment will come back with the good record of their comrades in former days. The real test of your manbood will be in your faithfully carrying out monotonous camp duties and routine work which will wear off the edge of your enthusiasm. Your sole watchword should be your duty to God, your Queen and country."

I knew that the Langberg campaign would be a great strain on the men, with an elusive enemy, a barren country, and an inevitable difficulty in commissariat and supplies. The infantry got more fighting than I expected, and did very well indeed in the final assault of the rebels' stronghold at the Langberg mountain. We had to send a seventh Active Service Detachment before the campaign was over.

### Diamond Jubilee.

In 1898 we unveiled the Memorial Tablet in S. Mary's to those who died in this campaign. Whilst it was going on, South Africa right loyally celebrated the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria. I always look back to this event as a "parting of the ways" in our Empire. Rudyard Kipling's "Recessional" was published then, and its note of warning pointed to a saner and stronger "Imperialism" than the popular ideals of the day.

### South African Political and Racial Troubles.

The Empire was beginning to find itself. Australia was working towards the federal union of its "Commonwealth". Canada, already a "Dominion," was striving to combine Imperial and Canadian patriotism. South Africa was torn by the conflicting ideals of Krugerism and the determination of British South Africans to keep South Africa within the Empire. The years following the "Raid" were years of veiled civil war, destined to break out in open strife sooner or later. "The sooner the better," some of us thought, for things were rapidly drifting into an intolerable position. The hopes of the South African British minority rested upon two men. Chamberlain, the strongest man that ever held the position, was Colonial Secretary. And he had sent Milner to South Africa, with a firm determination to defeat German intrigue, and defeat Kruger's desire to dominate South Africa from Pretoria under the flag of an Afrikander Republic, which should extend from Cape Town to the Zambesi. Dean Church once said of Lord Milner that he was the most finished product of modern Oxford. He won every academic honour open to him, and his great work in Egypt, with its special difficulties, eminently fitted him to be High Commissioner of South Africa and Governor of the Cape.

### Correspondence with Mr. Chamberlain.

In the Eastern Province of the Cape Colony the descendants of the British settlers of 1820 were the dominant factor. Many of these men knew little of the power or resources of the Empire. They were bitter and impatient. They came to blows with Dutchmen, who taunted them about "Majuba" and the recent easy conquest of Jameson's men by Cronje and his burgher army. During Mr. Chamberlain's tenure of office any Colonist who had anything to say on Colonial affairs

could lay his views before the Colonial Office and get a courteous reply. Knowing this, I sent Mr. Chamberlain a long private memorandum upon the state of affairs in South Africa, tracing cause and effect as well as I was able during the previous twenty years. I spoke of the unrest of the South African-born English, who had never seen England, and ventured to suggest the regarrisoning of the old Imperial garrison towns of Grahamstown and King Williamstown. I also hinted that the power of England might be shown by a fleet concentration in one of the South African Ports. I delivered my soul freely and did not expect any further reply than the acknowledgment that my memorandum had been laid before the Secretary of State.

### Fleet Concentration at Delagoa Bay.

But I got more than this. I had a reply asking me to write again and give further information, which I was glad to do. I suppose other South Africans had written in the same sort of way, and I believe that Lord Milner saw that some immediate action was necessary. Anyhow the Imperial garrison towns of the Eastern Province, after twenty years' interval, were re-occupied by Imperial troops, and a magnificent fleet concentration took place one fine morning at Delagoa Bay. No one had the least idea of such a thing. The Admiral of the Cape station anchored in Delagoa Bay with the ships of his squadron. There was smoke on the horizon, north, south and east, as warship after warship from the Indian and Australian and Mediterranean squadrons came to the rendezvous in the course of the morning. It was a most imposing display of naval force, and a wonderfully timed concentration.

### Re-Garrisoning of the Eastern Province.

Johannesburg rejoiced, and the South African British took heart of grace. Kruger and his Hollanders were deeply

impressed for the moment. The Admiral invited Kruger to go down to Delagoa Bay and visit the fleet, but the old president promptly refused.

"If I go there," he is reported to have said, "they will take me off to England and kidnap me, and what will become of my poor burghers?" Anyhow, nothing induced him to go.

I met a young British farmer in Grahamstown not long after the city was re-garrisoned with Imperial troops. He had never seen them before, as he was too young to remember the old days of the garrison, and he had never been to England. He was greatly excited, and told me he had rushed up to the sentry at the Barrack gates and put a gold piece into his astonished hand, saying, "It is just because you are a genuine British Tommy, don't you know!" This feeling was typical of the South African British in the tense years between the Raid and the Boer War. Every one felt that war was bound to come. The tension between the South African British and the Boers was too acute. We felt day by day nearer to the breaking-point. The Transvaalers and Free Staters were arrogant and expressed their determination to be the masters of South Africa. The South African British saw a new spirit in Downing Street. They began to think that Chamberlain and Milner meant to keep South Africa British, and they waited in impatience for the issue. The older British colonists were not so much concerned about the grievances of the Johannesburg people, except so far as they might serve for a *casus belli* against Krugerism.

## The Bloemfontein Conference of 1899.

Then came the famous Bloemfontein Conference of 1899 when Kruger and Milner met face to face to argue the issues of peace and war. I was in Natal at the time, where I had gone at the invitation of my dear old friend, Dean Green, to

preach the sermon at the dedication of the new chancel of S. Saviour's Cathedral, Maritzburg. I saw by a newspaper report that Kruger made a great grievance about an alleged plot by a British officer to capture the Johannesburg Fort. His police had cleverly unearthed the conspiracy, and the officer was in prison. His name appeared, and I knew at once that the whole conspiracy was hatched by the police. The so-called British officer was an educated and plausible "loafer," whom I had tried to befriend in Port Elizabeth. He drifted to Johannesburg, and as I shrewdly suspected, had sold himself to the Transvaal police, and with them had engineered this "bogus" plot. I wired at once to Sir Alfred Milner to tell him what I knew of the man. I had a letter of thanks, and Kruger dropped his "faked" conspiracy like a hot coal. The conference came to a futile ending and Kruger went back to Pretoria to take immediate steps to mobilise his army. He wanted a month or so for the spring grass to grow for fodder for his horses, and meanwhile the diplomatic game of "dispatches" between Downing Street and Pretoria went on a little longer.

### The Doctor's Ring Conferred on me in Maritzburg Cathedral.

Whilst I was at Maritzburg in 1899 I received from Cambridge my degree of Doctor of Divinity. I had written a book on the "Constitutional Authority of Bishops up to the Council of Chalcedon," which involved a considerable amount of research. My general line was to prove that the authority of Primates and Metropolitans was inherent in the primitive Church, and that a diocesan Bishop was not an autocrat, but a constitutional ruler, with the counsel of his Diocesan Synod to aid him, and with a well-defined responsibility to his Metropolitan and com-Provincial Bishops. The degree was conferred upon me *in absentia* by a special grace of the Senate.

Dean Green of Maritzburg, as the senior Cambridge graduate in South Africa, arranged with the senior Cambridge Bishop, Dr. Hicks of Bloemfontein, to confer upon me the Doctor's ring which in mediaeval times belonged to the degree. The ring was blessed on the altar of Maritzburg Cathedral by the Bishop with the words "Benedic Domine, hunc annulum, quem nos in Tuo sancto Nomine benedicimus, ut sit signum Sacrae Theologiae Professoris muneris, et da ei qui portat Spiritum Intellectus, ut in Tua sacra scientia quod legerit credat, quod crediderit doceat, et quod docuerit imitetur; per Jesum Christum Dominum Nostrum. Amen." The Dean took me by the hand and presented me to the Bishop with the words "Duco ad vos Augustum Theodorum Wirgman, Professorem in Sacra Theologia designatum"; and the Bishop placed the ring on my finger with the words, "In Nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti impono digiti tuo hunc Annulum, muneris et gradus tui signum, et benedicat te Deus Pater, custodiat te Jesus Christus, illuminet te Spiritus Sanctus in saecula saeculorum. Amen". The Bishop then said in Latin the Collect for Whitsunday and gave the Blessing.

### Death of Bishop Hicks of Bloemfontein.

The good Bishop passed to his rest on October 9th in that same year, the very day on which war was declared by the Transvaal, and the Dean died six years later. The ring, thus solemnly placed on my finger, has never since been taken off, and the memory of that simple ceremony will ever remain sacred to me.

### The Provincial Synod of 1898.

I may also here briefly interpolate my memories of the Provincial Synod of 1898. I was again elected to represent

the diocese of Grahamstown. The Synod was marked at its outset by a Charge from the late Archbishop West-Jones of singular power and breadth of outlook. South Africa was seething with political discord. The Archbishop showed how the unity of the Church of England, which Archbishop Theodore of Tarsus accomplished in the seventh century, was a prelude to the political unity of the Heptarchy under King Egbert. He pointed to the corporate unity of the South African Church, and to the Bishops of the Boer Republics sitting in Synod with the Bishops of British South Africa. Surely, he thought, this ecclesiastical unity was a hopeful harbinger of the future political unity of South Africa under the British flag. He then dealt with subjects more definitely concerning the work of the Synod.

### The Synod Asserts the Indissolubility of Marriage.

We had to face the question of Christian marriage. Already the Archbishop and Bishops in Synod had taken action when the State permitted marriage with a deceased wife's sister in 1891. That question was settled by the order to the clergy not to solemnise marriages forbidden by the Table of Kindred and Affinity, and further, not to admit to the Holy Communion persons who had contracted such marriages. The matter was not complicated by questions of civil rights and establishment as it has been in England. In South Africa the English Church is a voluntary association, capable of making laws for its own members. It is in the position of a club, and the legal position of members of a club is that if they violate its laws they cannot claim its privileges. The Provincial Synod dealt on these lines with the question of divorce and re-marriage. It affirmed that the ancient law of the Church of England (as expressed in the Canons of 1604, and as expounded by Blackstone) knew nothing of Divorce Absolute (*a vinculo*), but only permitted a judicial separation,

which did not legalise the re-marriage of either party, irrespective of all questions of innocence or guilt. It embodied this interpretation of the Canon Law of Marriage, as a Sacrament *per se* indissoluble, in Canon XXIX of the South African Church, and it further forbids the admission of divorced persons to the Holy Communion, or persons who have contracted unions forbidden by the Table of Kindred and Affinity. Another point of grave importance was settled at this Synod. It was felt that no Province of the Catholic Church could be considered absolutely autonomous, so far as the decisions of its Court of Appeal applied to matters of Faith and Doctrine, common to the whole Catholic Church.

### The Synod and the Lambeth "Consultative Body".

The Lambeth Conference of 1897 was unable to formulate a final Court of Appeal for all the dioceses in communion with Canterbury. But it made an effort in that direction (which has since then taken permanent shape), by constituting a "Consultative Body" of Bishops to advise the Archbishop of Canterbury in cases referred to him from provinces or dioceses outside his own immediate jurisdiction. This "Consultative Body" is composed of Bishops who are elected by each ecclesiastical province in communion with Canterbury. The South African Church had been roundly accused of too much independence when its legal "nexus" with the Church of England was broken by successive judgments of the Privy Council. The Synod, therefore, determined to dispel this erroneous idea by constituting this "Consultative Body" its Final Court of Appeal. No other Colonial Church has gone so far as the South African Church in this direction. But we took care that our amended Canon on this subject contained sufficient safeguards. We did not forfeit our legitimate independence as a Province of the Catholic Church, but we adopted a course that guarded us from the isolation

and peril of disunion that might conceivably result from an illegitimate use of that independence. It would be impossible for us to fall into the error temporarily committed by the Church of New Zealand in condemning doctrine which was taught without censure in the Church of England.

### Bishop Webb Succeeded by Bishop Cornish.

To return to the tangled skein of political events, my conviction in June, July, and August, 1899, was daily more positive that it was impossible to avoid war with the Transvaal. Bishop Webb resigned the See of Grahamstown in 1898, and I was at Capetown for the consecration of his successor, Bishop Cornish.

### The Verge of the Boer War.

Things were beginning to move rapidly. The tension which arose as war became nearer and nearer, was worse than war itself. Business was at a standstill. The news came that the Imperial Government meant to act, unless the Transvaal listened to reason. Sir Redvers Buller was appointed to command an expeditionary force in the event of war, which all who knew what was going on saw to be inevitable. The contest between Briton and Boer for the "overlordship" of South Africa was, on the one hand, a national movement of the Boers for racial supremacy, and on the other hand, a dogged determination of the South African British to remain within the Empire at all costs and hazards. It was a civil war between the two South African white races in which the numerically inferior British leant upon the help of the Empire to which they were proud to belong.

### Mr. Rhodes does not Believe the Danger.

I was at Capetown again shortly before the actual ultimatum of the Transvaal was hurled at Great Britain. I saw Mr.

Rhodes who had just returned from England and the Continent, where he had been negotiating for his great scheme of a railway from Capetown to Cairo. He had lost some of the diplomatic threads on the voyage out and he told me that "Kruger was bluffing". He had interviewed the Kaiser about his great project and the two men had apparently harmonised. The Kaiser admired any scheme that was gigantic and audacious. He flattered Rhodes and carefully concealed from him the German finger in the South African pie. Apparently Rhodes did not want war. He said so very plainly to me, and when I told him that it was inevitable he scorned the idea. I was dining at his house and after dinner he asked me to play billiards with him. I found that the game was more or less of a pretext to continue his anti-war arguments, which I vigorously combatted. At last he banged the butt of his cue on the ground and said "I tell you there will be no war, and I know what I am talking about". His brother, Colonel Frank Rhodes, said afterwards to me that he could not understand Cecil's attitude. But the very next day there was a change.

### The Free State Ultimatum.

I had lunched at Government House and saw that Sir Alfred Milner and his Staff were much excited about news that had just come down. I remember his saying to me that his anxieties had caused him to suffer from insomnia, and I found out from Colonel Hanbury Williams (his Military Secretary) what the news was. President Steyn of the Free State had sent a virtual ultimatum demanding the removal of our troops on the Free State border, who were guarding the Orange River Bridge, the most important link of railway communication between Capetown and Kimberley. This meant war, although we took no action, except a prompt refusal, till the Transvaal sent their ultimatum. But the

military authorities were jubilant, for, if the Free State had remained neutral, our difficulties in dealing with the Transvaal would have been great indeed. We needed the flat plains of the Free State to march an army against the flank of the Transvaal. Had we been restricted to warfare on the Natal border we should have been in a serious dilemma. The neutrality of the Free State would have meant that its armed manhood would have dribbled across the Transvaal border to swell the Transvaal forces and we could not have stopped them. We should have been *forced* to declare war on the Free State, and it was far better for us that they should take the initiative as they did.

### Rhodes Convinced.

I saw Rhodes again that very evening. He asked me what I had heard at Government House, and when I told him, he said, in his abrupt manner, "I throw up the sponge —I was wrong last night. There will be war." Threats were rife against Rhodes. His secretary told me that he was in daily fear lest Rhodes should be assassinated by his political foes, and his brother urged him to leave the Cape Peninsula and go to Kimberley, where he would be comparatively safe amongst his own people.

### The Transvaal Ultimatum.

Rhodes made up his mind to go, for another reason. He knew that Kruger wished to capture him, and he also knew that the Boer ultimatum, which was almost hourly expected, had caught us unprepared. If Rhodes could reach Kimberley, his presence there meant a siege of Kimberley, and a consequent delay in the march of the Boers on Capetown and the coast. He left by night, and got to his destination by the very last train that arrived before the Boers cut the line and invested Kimberley.

## War on October 9th, 1899.

The Transvaal Ultimatum declared war on October 9th, the same day that Bishop Hicks of Bloemfontein died at Maseru. I knew him well, and as a scholar, a man of science, and a Catholic Bishop who taught the whole faith, he was a grievous loss to the South African Church. When the news of his death reached the republican authorities of the Free State it was openly said that the Boers would never allow a successor to be appointed to the vacant See, so confident were they of an ultimate victory which would blot out the English Church and people in South Africa. The history of the South African War is too well known a story to be repeated here, save as it touched me personally. I was the senior of the Chaplains of the Cape Colonial Forces, and I at once reported myself for duty, and soon found more than enough to do.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### REMINISCENCES OF THE BOER WAR. VISIT TO THE CONTINENT.

#### I am Appointed Principal Chaplain of Cape Colonial Forces.

When I reported myself for duty I was appointed Garrison Chaplain of Port Elizabeth, where we had the 1st Battalion of the Welsh Regiment and other details in the garrison. Major-General French, after defeating the Boers at Elandslaagte, and thus securing the retreat of General Penn-Symon's Force from Dundee, just escaped from the investment of Ladysmith by the last train that got through to Maritzburg. He was appointed to command a small force at Naauwpoort, an important Railway Junction in Cape Colony, and his task was to hold back the vastly superior force of Boers under De la Rey which had invaded Cape Colony and occupied Colesberg. Port Elizabeth was his sea-base, and the railway to Naauwpoort had to be carefully guarded, as vital to his little army. This duty fell to the Port Elizabeth Regiment (Prince Alfred's Guard) and to the Grahamstown regiment. I was directed to take charge of the Chaplain's work on this long line of communication (some 300 miles) in addition to my other duties. I also had to act as Principal Chaplain for the Eastern Province, and to recommend clergy for Acting Chaplaincies. Our clergy had been turned out of the Transvaal and Free State, and also in certain parts of the Cape

Colony, occupied by the invading Boer armies. These men naturally had the first claim for re-employment, and I recommended them accordingly.

### I Meet General French.

My relations with General French were most cordial and delightful. When I went up to Naauwpoort to report myself to him, he said that it would save trouble if I took the full responsibility for my own work, without further reference to him. "You know the country," he said, "and the clergy and the colonial troops, and if you need anything just ask Colonel Haig, my chief of the Staff, and we will do all we can for you". I found Colonel Haig (now Field-Marshal Sir Douglas Haig and Commander-in-Chief of our armies in France) just as accessible and courteous as his Chief. I arranged Church Parades at all the small posts upon the railway line, and I found the warmest response from the troops, both in garrison and in these outposts.

### The "Black Week".

My Bishop was amused at my carrying on my work as Examining Chaplain for his Ordination Examination in a tent at a garrison on the line. I was up the line during the "Black Week" of Colenso, Stormberg and Magersfontein.

### An Episode in the Censor's Office.

I shall never forget one night in the Censor's office at Naauwpoort, when "The Times" correspondent rushed in to submit a cable for London on the Stormberg disaster. He read it out and it said that Gatacre had been routed and driven forty miles by the Boers on to his base at Queenstown. "Well, Padre," said the Censor, "what do you think of that?

You know the country. Do you think it is true?" I said that I did not believe it for a moment. I knew the ground. "Gatacre might have retired some ten miles to his base at Molteno, but to be driven forty miles—certainly not." So I told "The Times" correspondent, who scowled and said his news came from the D.A.A.G. I further said that it would be wrong to send such a cable and that the D.A.A.G. didn't know the geography of the country. "Well," said the Censor, "*you* write the cable for 'The Times' man, and I will pass it." So I simply wrote that General Gatacre had been defeated at Stormberg, and had returned to his base at Molteno. The Censor said, "That will do for 'The Times,'" and it went accordingly. The correspondent looked as if he would like to devour me, but I saved London from a needless scare. Things were bad enough without making them worse. There was very little legitimate complaint of the Censorship during the Boer War. It looks as if the Censorship of 1914 and 1915 has been guilty of some extreme follies and inanities. To censor a quotation from Kipling "The Captains and the *Kings* depart" by deleting the word "*Kings*" seems the acme of futility. And yet it was proved in Parliament that this actually occurred.

### Cheery Spirit of the Army.

I was very much struck with the cheery and indomitable spirit of the Army during the "Black Week" in 1889. One officer said that "a little grit had got under our Steam Roller and was making it travel slower. That was all."

### Colenso and Ladysmith.

Colenso was a serious disaster, and a preventable one. Buller was so beloved by his men that criticism in the army was silent. But, as the American Military Attaché said to

him, "Why didn't you outflank them?" This was quite possible, instead of a disastrous frontal attack. Those guns, which cost the life of the only son of Lord Roberts in a vain attempt to save them, ought never to have been where they were. A Natal officer, who warned the Artillery commander that it was madness to gallop the guns into the open, was told very roughly to hold his tongue. A spectator from the Boer side told me afterwards that it seemed sheer madness to bring guns into the centre of a converging rifle fire without an atom of cover. And so it was. Ladysmith was eventually relieved by a flanking movement across the Tugela which was costly enough, as the Boers had ample time to dig themselves in. Their trenches and concealed gun emplacements were admirably constructed. They had a military genius as their leader in the person of General Botha, whose conquest of German South West Africa in 1915 has shown the world how a former foe of the Empire has become one of its greatest and most loyal leaders.

### Boer Annexation of British Territory.

The temporary annexation of Northern Natal and the Northern Cape Colony by the Boers had some curious consequences. The Boers brought these conquered districts under their ordinary civil administration, and the business of the Civil Courts was carried out under Boer officials who conducted criminal and civil legal business in the Courts as usual. People were married civilly under these conditions, and when we had re-conquered our lost territory, an Act had to be passed to render valid marriages and other civil processes carried out by the Boer officials during their temporary occupation. On the whole they behaved well, but if they had been victorious, they would certainly have dispossessed British owners of property, possibly with some compensation, as they were determined to eliminate the British

element in the population so far as was possible. They were determined to create an Afrikander Republic from the Cape to the Zambesi, and to get rid of the aliens, amongst whom they reckoned the settled British populations of Natal and the Eastern districts of the Cape Colony. If the Empire had lost the Boer War it would have ceased to exist. The Afrikander Republic would have become virtually, if not nominally, a part of the German Empire, and the self-governing dominions would have had to fend for themselves. But the Natal campaign was only part of a battle front of over 1000 miles, as it ultimately developed, a battle front of guerilla warfare, where you could never tell where the front really was, with a resourceful, well-mounted and mobile enemy.

### Boer Blunders Worse than British.

Of course the Boer leaders made as bad, or even worse, blunders than our people did. They were entrapped into besieging Mafeking and Kimberley, when they could have marched down the country and seriously threatened Capetown and Port Elizabeth and Durban before we had enough troops to defend them. For the first year of the war their forces greatly outnumbered ours, but they lost this advantage through lack of discipline and united action. Every small "Commando" was more or less "on its own," and there was no real cohesion in the Boer army.

Lord Methuen's advance to relieve Kimberley was checked at Magersfontein, after costly actions at Graspan and Modder River. But the Boers lost heavily at Magersfontein, for nearly the whole of their Scandinavian contingent was wiped out by our shell fire. The Boer losses were forgotten by reason of our own heavy losses in the Highland Brigade, and the death in action of their gallant commander General Wauchope.

### Arrival of Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener.

With the arrival of Lord Roberts in supreme command, and Lord Kitchener as his Chief of Staff, the fortunes of the campaign changed. General French quietly and secretly withdrew his splendid cavalry and horse artillery from Naauwpoort, together with most of his infantry, and started to join Lord Roberts, who had taken supreme command of Lord Methuen's army. I never forgot General French's kind thoughtfulness, for in the midst of his urgent preparations to quit Naauwpoort, he remembered to send me a Christmas card of kindly greeting. It was about this date that I wrote some articles on the War for the "Nineteenth Century".[1] They were naturally coloured by the exigencies of the time, but after sixteen years I have little to retract.

### Relief of Kimberley.

To return to the relief of Kimberley. Lord Roberts astonished Cronje and his army, entrenched at Magersfontein, by a bold turning movement on his flank. Cronje imagined that our troops were tied to the railway line, but he was soon undeceived. He had to evacuate his strong position at Magersfontein, and began to retire on Bloemfontein. His retreat made possible a bold cavalry dash on Kimberley. It was a blazing hot summer and General French pushed on with his cavalry, taking great risks from the unbeaten enemy, as well as from the heat and want of water. The only dangerous place was cleared by a magnificent cavalry charge and the way to Kimberley was open. The exhausted men and horses reached their goal. The General and his Staff rode into Kimberley amidst the joy of the sorely-tried people of the beleagured city, and French had his historic meeting with Rhodes, who had been the life and soul of the defence.

[1] "The Nineteenth Century," January and April, 1900.

But there was no rest for French and the cavalry. Cronje had to be headed off from his retreat to Bloemfontein. Horse after horse fell from exhaustion in that wild ride.

### Surrender of Cronje at Paardeberg.

The cavalry were no sooner in Kimberley than they were off again, and they successfully rounded up Cronje and his army at Paardeberg, and held them till Lord Roberts came up. There was some strenuous fighting, and we lost heavily, until, on Majuba Day, 1900, Cronje and his army of 4000 Boers surrendered as prisoners of war. Lord Roberts laid stress on the anniversary in his dispatch. He knew how the enforced "public holiday" on Majuba Day had embittered the British of the Transvaal, and, since Cronje's surrender, we have heard no more taunts about Majuba from our Dutch neighbours. But Cronje's surrender by no means quelled the Boer spirit. For some months after it took place, few of the "back veld" Boers believed it was true. Lord Roberts had to fight his way to Bloemfontein, and the battle of Poplar Grove was a costly victory.

### Poplar Grove.

President Kruger was there, but fled in such a hurry that he left his well-known "tall hat" behind him in the house where his quarters were, and escaped bareheaded. It was retrieved as an interesting relic. About three years ago an officer of the Union Forces, whom I know very well, told me the following characteristic story, thoroughly typical of the South Africa of to-day. He was attached to Lord Roberts' Staff at Poplar Grove and he was, at the date of the story, at our Military College in Bloemfontein for a course of Staff training, with a number of other officers of our forces, many of whom had fought against us in the Boer War. After

Mess one night he was chatting with Colonel George Brand, son of the late President Brand of the Free State, who was an adventurous leader on the Boer side, but who had since taken a Staff appointment in the Union forces. He happened to ask Brand which was his narrowest escape during the Boer War. He replied, "At Poplar Grove, when I was riding a white horse. Some one fired at me again and again, and at last I was peppered with shrapnel from a field gun. The bullets were too close to be pleasant, and I had the narrowest escape". My friend smiled and said, "I was the man who shot at you at Poplar Grove. I remember the white horse, and I got a field gun turned on you". The queer coincidence amused both men, and the story is typical of other reminiscences of men on opposite sides in the Boer War who afterwards met as friends under the British flag. Colonel Brand rendered great service to the Empire during the Rebellion of 1914. He was Staff Officer in the Southern Free State, and was in command of a mobilised brigade of Dutch loyalists, who did excellent service against De Wet's rebels. It is not too much to say that his personal influence kept the southern districts of the Free State loyal, as well as his own men.

### Capture of Bloemfontein.

Lord Roberts occupied Bloemfontein in the Holy Week of 1900. He was a deeply religious man. Before Poplar Grove he and his Staff, with many others, made their communion at a service held in the open by one of the Chaplains. He was mindful of the sanctity of Holy Week in the midst of the triumph of the surrender of Bloemfontein. Dean Vincent of Bloemfontein had stuck to his post at the Cathedral, and maintained the services in the isolation of an extremely difficult position. There were enough English left in Bloemfontein to warrant his holding on, and he and his brave wife

held on, to the comfort and blessing of his flock. He was bold enough when President Steyn asked him to have a "Te Deum" in the Cathedral for the Boer victory at Magersfontein, to give a courteous and flat refusal, at the risk of being expelled and sent over the border. His worst trial was the absence of news, for the Boer War Bulletins were mere chronicles of fabulous Boer victories. The English population of Bloemfontein thronged the streets to welcome Lord Roberts and his army. One can imagine their full hearts when they saw the British flag hoisted in the Free State capital for the first time since the disgraceful abandonment of 1854.

### Lord Roberts and Dean Vincent.

One of the first acts of Lord Roberts was to send for the Dean, and ask him whether he wished for help from the Army Chaplains for the Good Friday and Easter services. This kindly thoughtfulness touched the Dean very much, and he was thankful for the timely help, as he was worn out and overstrained. Lord Roberts asked for a special Eucharist on Easter Day for himself and the army, and there was a solemn "Te Deum" of thanksgiving. The Cathedral was packed from end to end with officers and men in khaki, and Lord Roberts told the Dean afterwards that he and the army wished to make a special gift to the Cathedral in memory of that great Eucharist of Thanksgiving. The Dean was practical, and the chief need just then was to light the Cathedral with electric light. Lord Roberts immediately collected the money and the work was promptly put in hand.

Lord Roberts was of course accustomed to the ordinary type of Army Chaplains' services, and in his youth he belonged to the Irish Church. The Altar lights, the dignified Vestments and ritual of the Cathedral, were somewhat strange to him, and he questioned the Dean about it in his characteristic soldierly fashion. "Is it all in accordance with the

regulations?" he asked. "Does the Archbishop of Capetown sanction it?" The Dean replied that this was so, and that the use of the Cathedral was as he had found it. "Quite so," said Lord Roberts, "so long as it is in order and under authority. That's all I wanted to know." This soldier-like way of regarding things ecclesiastical would effectually prevent the reading of an attempted negative into the Ornaments Rubric in the place of a positive direction. I may here record the subsequent career of my very dear friend, Dean Vincent. He resigned the Deanery after the war and accepted a living in England. But the call of the "Veld" touched his soul, and he came back to South Africa as Archdeacon of Bloemfontein. In 1912 he became Dean of Grahamstown and did a wonderful work as an administrator and a parish priest. He won the hearts of the people of his Cathedral City as no man had won them before, and his death in 1914 left in the affectionate regard of all who knew him an undying memory of a faithful Catholic priest.

### General Baden-Powell.

The relief of Ladysmith and Mafeking are stories too well known to be recorded here. I met General Baden-Powell after the relief of Mafeking when he came to Port Elizabeth to receive from the Mayor the Sword of Honour which was presented to him by our citizens. Port Elizabeth was keenly interested in the Siege of Mafeking, as the garrison was composed of Colonial troops, a considerable portion of which were Port Elizabeth men who had enlisted in the Bechuanaland and Protectorate Regiment. General Baden-Powell made a most favourable impression by his speech at Port Elizabeth. He reminded us that the defence of Mafeking was the work of South African soldiers, and that he and his small staff of Imperial Officers were the pilots who steered the ship into port, which they could not have done without a

brave and resolute crew. I met the General again a few years ago when he was touring South Africa in the interests of the Scout movement. He impressed me as a brilliant soldier, and a most modest and courteous gentleman. His Scout movement is the greatest possible asset to the Empire and has paved the way for National Service.

### General French's Tactfulness.

I must make room here for an incident which showed the tactfulness of General French. When I was in camp at Rosmead with my own regiment (Prince Alfred's Guard) and the 1st City (Grahamstown), an Imperial officer was in command who had not the least idea how to handle Colonial troops. He was arbitrary and tactless, forgetting that many of the men were well educated and of an independent spirit, who could be led but not driven. Things got so bad that I made up my mind to report myself to the General and tell him all about it. I went by train to Naauwpoort, the General's Headquarters, and told him my story. "Yes," he said, "you were quite right to come to me. But when you get back by the afternoon train you will find another officer in command. When I hear reports about an officer it is a good thing to have him to dinner. I had your friend to dinner the other night, and if Haig and I could not come to a conclusion about a man after he had spent the evening with us, we should neither of us be fit for our job." The officer in question had influential friends, and the way the General got rid of him was very clever. He made no complaints but merely told him that he was sending more troops to strengthen the Rosmead garrison. But he had carefully arranged that these new troops were under the command of an officer, senior to our tactless O.C., who took command of the garrison automatically on his arrival. When I got back I found our late commander packing his things to go back as Staff Officer at the base, where he could do no harm.

### The Wesleyans of the Welsh Regiment.

A little time before this I was taking Church parade for the Welsh Regiment then in garrison in Port Elizabeth. A number of the men were Welsh Calvinistic Methodists, and they were duly paraded and marched down about a mile in the hot sun to the Wesleyan Chapel. On my way to camp I used to pass this detachment, who duly saluted me. But their numbers grew smaller and smaller. One day I asked my orderly the reason of this. "Oh, sir," he said, the most of them have been to the Sergeant-Major and changed their religion. They come to your parade now. "But why?" I asked. He said, "You see, sir, you've got the Colonel and the band and your sermons are short, and we've pretty well finished dinner before the Methodists come back from Chapel. We call 'em the Cold Dinner Brigade."

### Wesleyan Blue-Jackets.

I was hugely amused, and a similar incident occurred when I was taking services on the naval Guard-ship in our harbour. The ship was anchored about a mile from the shore, and the Methodists had to be rowed ashore for their service. I was in the Captain's cabin, and a request came from the Methodists to be allowed to attend my service. The Captain smiled and said "Yes," and a very polite "blue-jacket" afterwards hinted to me that the men liked what I said to them so much that they did not want to go to chapel ashore. The blue-jackets were most delightful people to preach to, but I thought that the two-mile pull in the ship's boat had something to do with the matter. I have most pleasant recollections of my ministrations to the Navy, for I held services for them whenever I could manage it. Naval discipline differs from army discipline. It is stricter on some points, but a ship's company is more like a family than a regiment is.

### Deserters from a Warship.

I was lunching on board a cruiser, and after lunch the Captain said, "If you stow away here, out of sight of the crew, you will hear something amusing".

Two of the crew had been captured as deserters. They had enlisted in an irregular cavalry corps, then recruiting in Port Elizabeth, and they were being brought on board as prisoners. The Captain said "We are going to march them down the deck and let the men chaff them, which will be their worst punishment". The two prisoners came aboard in khaki, with spurs and ill-rolled "puttees". They *did* look figures of fun. The ship's corporal marched them on deck, and said "Halt! Front! I suppose ye can't '*form fours*'. Now *Quick march!*" And they were marched round the deck through a row of grinning blue-jackets. "Look at their blooming spurs!" "What price Horse-Marines?" "Hello, Tommy, where's your 'gee-gee'?" With other remarks the import of which I didn't catch. Their story at the Court of Inquiry was very funny. They said that they went to sleep somewhere ashore, and supposed they had had a drop too much, *and woke up to find themselves arrayed in khaki "puttees" and spurs*, and couldn't find their own naval kit. This yarn was a trifle thin. They had, of course, been tempted by the high rate of pay given to Colonial irregulars. They did not get a very heavy sentence, as the Captain told me they would catch it properly from their messmates' jeers for some time to come.

### The Athanasian Creed at a Church Parade.

At the Garrison Church Parades, when we had a band, I always allowed the bandmaster to choose the hymns. One bandmaster was a very good fellow, but extremely attentive to details. On Easter Day I had a Church Parade as usual,

and I used to shorten the service to enable me to get in time for another service. But the bandmaster saluted as he gave me the list of hymns and said "I hope, Sir, you have not forgotten that *the Prayer Book orders the Athanasian Creed for to-day*". I told him we had had it in the Parish Church, and that I was afraid it would make the parade service too long. "Very good, Sir!" he said, obviously quite pleased that he had done his duty in reminding me. I wish this good bandmaster could have drummed the importance of the Athanasian Creed into the heads of the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury, and I am always thankful that the Law Courts have decided that one of the points of legal severance between the South African Church and the Church of England is the clause in our Constitution which debars us from following the Church of England if any tinkering with that Creed or its use is ever permitted.

### The Sentry and his Shadow.

A very funny incident happened on the Port Elizabeth beach. We had over a million's worth of military stores, housed in sheds, under charge of the Army Ordnance Corps. Attempts had been made to destroy these stores, and one man was shot in the act by a sentry. The beach area was lit with large arc lamps which cast deep and black shadows. A Yorkshire sentry one night was extra vigilant. The officer in charge of the guard told me that he was roused by a rapid succession of shots in the middle of the night, followed by a hubbub of angry voices. He rushed out of his tent to find the youthful sentry being manhandled by five or six irate veterans of the Ordnance Corps who slept in one of the sheds. He asked what was the matter, and the Army Ordnance man said that they had been aroused from their well-earned slumbers by bullets flying about, which had penetrated the corrugated iron walls of the shed. There had been some

narrow escapes. The sentry's story was as follows—given in broad Yorkshire. "I war on me beat, an I saw a black nigger agin the shed. I says, 'Oo goes theer?' and ee says *nowt*. I bobbed ma yead to creep closer, an' ee bobs 'is yead. An' then I lets rip at 'is yead, and he didna shift. An' I lets rip agean an' blazed away me clip of cartridges an' then I charged him with me baynet. An' it were nowt but me own bloomin' shadder." The electric light was behind the sentry as he turned, and his black shadow on the shed wall stood out ominously. The rest of the story ended in laughter, and I had to promise not to send the story to "Punch" with an illustration, as I at first threatened to do.

### Guerilla Warfare after the Capture of Johannesburg and Pretoria.

We thought that the capture of Johannesburg and Pretoria would finish the war. But we were woefully mistaken. The Boers carried on a guerilla warfare of a very persistent and dangerous character for another year and a half, during which we suffered many heavy losses. Trains were perpetually wrecked, and the elusive De Wet carried on a useless and tiresome resistance, dangerous only from the extreme mobility of his force. Each man had a spare horse and many had two. He had a genius for planning raids and then vanishing as rapidly as he came. The rebellion in the Cape Colony was at one time very serious.

### Lies about our Concentration Camps.

People have forged a tissue of lies about our Concentration Camps for the Boer women and children. We could not leave them to starve on the "veld," and therefore we collected them into camps and fed them. Unfortunately, there was an epidemic of measles, which is a much more serious com-

plaint in South Africa than in England. De Wet and his train wreckers prevented supplies and medical comforts reaching the camps up-country, and there were many deaths of women and children. We did our best under most trying and sometimes impossible conditions, and because of the mortality in the camps we were accused of criminal neglect which amounted to murder. There is not a word of truth in these allegations. I had to visit a large Concentration Camp in Port Elizabeth. The women and children were well cared for, and I cannot remember a single death. Of course, on the coast we could get regular supplies and medical comforts. So everything went on well. The lack of these necessaries up-country was our misfortune, but not our fault. The worst of it was that some foolish people in England believed these stories of criminal neglect. The war was prolonged at least a year by the agitation of Boer sympathisers in England. It was natural for the Boer leaders to imagine that persons like Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman were representatives of a powerful party in England, and that they only had to persevere in their guerilla warfare to get terms of peace which would restore the independence of the two Republics. We had not only doctrinaire Radicals to deal with, but Conservatives, with a bee in their bonnets, like Sir E. Clarke of eminent legal fame. The war drifted into a very curious position. The Boers had learnt discipline, and had become efficient fighting men. Lord Kitchener's plan of blockhouses to guard the railways, and systematic "drives" of whole districts, which were thus gradually cleared of the enemy, was tedious but ultimately successful.

### Visit to England in 1902.

In January, 1902, I went to England with my wife for rest and change. I needed it badly, for I had the full responsibility of my parochial work as well as my military duties. I

sailed in the P.O. steamer *Plassey*, as Chaplain to the troops on board who numbered about 800.

### Colonel Henderson and General Scobell.

The late Col. Henderson, of the Intelligence Department, who was also deputed to write the official history of the war, was O.C. troops, and I found him a most delightful companion. He had literary gifts of a high order, and his Life of "Stonewall" Jackson is a military biography of the first rank. The voyage was very pleasant. Col. (afterwards General) Scobell was on board, invalided home after his strenuous work as leader of the force that captured the notorious Cape rebel Lotter, who was afterwards shot by Court Martial for murdering our native camp followers. His death when in command at the Cape some years afterwards was a great loss to the army, as he was one of our most brilliant cavalry leaders.

### My Speech at Liverpool.

I had several opportunities, whilst in England, of telling the truth about the causes of the war, and on one occasion I had the privilege of addressing a large and representative gathering of Liverpool men at a dinner they gave me at the Liverpool Conservative Club in March, 1902. After sketching briefly the history of British South Africa, I said that the real cause of the war was the Boer spirit of national unity which was just as powerful in its hold upon the people as the Italian or German movements for national unity which marked the middle of the last century. These national movements were too strong to be controlled by any single individual. It was folly to say that diplomacy could have stopped the war. It was hopeless to argue with men like Mr. Morley, who said that Lord Milner or Mr. Chamberlain

could have stopped the war. It might have been staved off temporarily at the cost of our national self-respect, but it had to come sooner or later. The war party wanted to wait until we were entangled with some European Power. They thought that Fashoda was their chance. But they were so self-confident that Kruger went to the Bloemfontein Conference determined for war. The Boer national movement was too strong for Kruger and Steyn. They could not have stopped the war. The only way in which the war could have been stopped was by the surrender of South Africa to the Boers. It was logical of them to expect us to haul down the flag at the Castle of Capetown. We hauled it down at Bloemfontein in 1854; we hauled it down at Pretoria in 1877. But it was impossible for us to strike our flag in South Africa for several reasons. In 1820 the British Government planted 4000 British settlers in South Africa. In 1899 the descendants of those settlers had increased to over 100,000[1] souls, and the prosperity of large portions of South Africa was due to the industry and perseverance of those *Britishers of the veld*. The Empire could not leave that settled British population to the mercy of the Boers. Their case was different from that of the Uitlander population of recent growth. Withdrawal from South Africa being impossible and impracticable, the Empire had to fight. For the first time the Colonies and the Motherland had stood shoulder to shoulder. We must fight this war to a finish. The tacit encouragement given by responsible ex-Cabinet Ministers to the Boer cause had cost the nation millions of money in prolonging the war. I am convinced that the war would have been over long ago if there had not been pro-Boers in the Imperial Parliament. The slanders about the Concentration Camps have been sifted by an impartial Commission of Inquiry and have been proved to have been wicked and baseless fabrications.

[1] This would seem to be an excessive estimate.—Ed.

And the pro-Boers have slandered the army. Ever since the war began I have been with the army as Chaplain, and from my personal knowledge I say that these foul slanders on the honour of British soldiers come direct from the Father of Lies. It is a pity that the pillory is obsolete, for it is the only fit punishment for the pro-Boer who talks about "methods of Barbarism" and infernal atrocities. Do not let us try and find scapegoats when reverses occur. We have made blunders, but what European army would have done half as well as we have done? We must not forget that the Boers at the beginning of the war made far worse blunders than we have done.

### Tariff Reform.

I closed my speech by some expression of the need of Imperial unity after the war. The loose ties binding the great self-governing Dominions to the mother country must be strengthened. I spoke of Cecil Rhodes and his great conception of preferential tariffs within the Empire. I had ventured this suggestion in 1893 at a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute. I spoke strongly against the fetish of free trade, so long advocated by the Manchester school, and to my surprise the large audience of Liverpool business men greeted my remarks with applause. After the dinner was over I had some informal conversation with some of the leading men in the room, and I expressed my gratification that they had received my remarks on Tariff Reform so kindly. One of them said to me "We are Liverpool men and we see a bit further than our Manchester friends. We are all in favour of preferential tariffs in favour of the Dominions." I remembered these words in 1903 when Mr. Chamberlain embarked on his great campaign in favour of Tariff Reform. I wrote and told him what these Liverpool men had said, and I was not surprised to find that one of the first of his great

speeches on Tariff Reform was at a dinner given him by that same Liverpool Conservative Club that had given me such a kindly hearing. The great meeting of the War Cabinet of the Empire in 1917 has at last adopted this necessary policy.

### The Continent.

After Easter I went with my wife to the Continent. It was perfect weather as we crossed to Flushing, and went down the Rhine to Lucerne, and thence to Italy through the S. Gothard tunnel, which was a weird experience.

### Milan.

I felt quite deaf the next day at Milan where we spent Low Sunday. We made our pilgrimage to the *Cenacolo*, glorious even in decay, and I was deeply interested in the Church of S. Ambrogio. The sacristan was showing me various Service Books and Missals in the Sacristy. He said with emphasis "Missale Ambrosianum non Missale Romanum". I saw the statue of Pio Nono, erected by the gratitude of ecclesiastical Milan, when he sanctioned *in perpetuum* the Ambrosian Rite, and I heard the Ambrosian High Mass in the Duomo. I was much struck by the difference between the Ambrosian and the Roman Mass, especially by the offering of the elements by representatives of the congregation. There was a procession down to the entrance of the choir to receive the elements which were brought up from the congregation by two old gentlemen in evening dress, which is a manifest relic of the ancient usage of the bread and wine being the oblation of the people at every Mass. Duchesne ("Christian Worship," p. 204) alludes to this ancient ceremony of the "Vecchioni" at Milan. There were other manifest differences in ritual and ceremonial which struck me as very beautiful. No wonder

the Milanese cling to their ancient Ambrosian rite which is an oasis in the desert of Roman uniformity. The Milanese claim that it is the purest form of Western Liturgy, and that the Roman Mass is derived from it. Duchesne does not allow this, although he says (p. 89): "The Gallican Liturgy is dead. The Ambrosian Liturgy at Milan is still living."

### Florence, Pisa, Ravenna.

The Ambrosian rite is closely allied to the Mosarabic, which still survives in the Cathedral of Toledo. From Milan we went to Florence, Pisa, Rome, Ravenna and Venice. I will not attempt to record my impressions. I think I have said that I have artistic instincts, and that I know enough to appreciate the wonderful art treasures of Italy. I was thankful that I had made a study of the different Italian schools of painting, so that most of what I saw was to some extent familiar to me. But it was not only the art treasures that I delighted in. The churches, the wonderful historic cities, and Italy itself with its glorious sky and wondrous scenery. South Africa had taught me to love sunshine. The grey skies of England always depress me. But I noticed a difference between our South African colouring and that of Italy. There was a red tinge in the blue of Italian skies, which seemed richer as a colour effect than the intense blue of the sky in South Africa. I was busy sketching whenever I had a chance, and I longed for power and *technique* to express what I saw. My Art school training had been very limited, but yet I was able to carry away memories of what I saw, even with my limited powers of execution.

### Rome.

The Campo Santo of Pisa impressed me more than the famous "Leaning Tower," and I thought of the Council of

Pisa as I saw the historic columns in the Nave of the Duomo which the Pisan had taken from ancient Pagan temples. Here was history in stone—Pagan, Christian, and ecclesiastical. I suppose no one can realise Rome—Pagan, Catholic and Italian—without seeing it. The S.P.Q.R. on the caps of the officials of the modern city bridges centuries of historic memories.

### S. Peter's.

But of all my personal memories the outstanding one is my three hours in S. Peter's at a great Papal function. When I heard it was to take place, I was told that it was impossible to get tickets of admission. Leo XIII was very frail and it was felt that it might be his last public appearance. But I bethought me of my old friend, the Hon. Alexander Wilmot, a Papal knight of S. Gregory, well known in Rome, and for several years representative of Port Elizabeth in the Upper House of the Cape Parliament. He was not at Rome at the time, but I called at the Irish College and introduced myself as a friend of Mr. Wilmot's. I was received with the utmost cordiality and courtesy and became speedily the possessor of three tickets of admission. When we went to S. Peter's I was very much struck with the Pope's perfect measures for securing order, and, incidentally, with the underlying good feeling between the Vatican and the Quirinal. The Pope had borrowed about 100 Italian soldiers to assist the Papal Guards in keeping order. I had to hand our tickets to a polite Italian sergeant, who passed us on to one of the Papal Gendarmes, who conducted us to our places within S. Peter's. We were just under the famous bronze statue of S. Peter, and I noticed the polished toe of the statue, kept bright by the kisses of pilgrims. There were about 60,000 people in S. Peter's, the ladies in the black Papal Court dress with black mantillas. There were brilliant uniforms of all descriptions,

and as the ceremony took about three hours, I had ample opportunity of gaining an abiding impression of the world's greatest church.

### Pope Leo XIII.

There were hundreds of Prelates and Monsignori coming in from time to time to take their places, and at length the Pope came in his Sedia Gestatoria surrounded by his noble Guards in their magnificent uniforms. There was a pause and a dead silence throughout the vast multitude as the Pope stopped, and was assisted to kneel for worship in the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament. Then he mounted the Sedia Gestatoria once more and his procession slowly moved up towards the High Altar. The people cried "Viva il Papa!" The ladies waved their handkerchiefs, and the Pope blessed the people right and left as he passed along. The ivory pallor of his face was lit up by a genial smile, and he seemed delighted with his reception. Leo XIII loved these great functions and encouraged them by every means in his power. He looked very frail, and I noticed that he was strapped into his seat by a band round his waist. He was then, I believe, ninety-three years of age, but the keen gaze of his dark eyes showed no signs of age and gave one an impression of alert mental vigour. I could not hear his Allocution from the altar, but the same cheering and enthusiasm marked his returning progress through the vast building. There seemed to me no irreverence in the enthusiasm of the people. Somehow it seemed quite natural to me, and in no way out of harmony with the sacred associations of S. Peter's.

### Pope Leo XIII and Anglican Orders.

It was a sight never to be forgotten. I always felt that Leo XIII desired to treat the "Ecclesia Anglicana" with

Christian courtesy, as his interviews with Lord Halifax and others plainly showed. His condemnation of Anglican Orders was a mechanical repetition of the Papal decision in the Gordon case, as the illuminating volumes of Lord Halifax and Mr. Lacey, which deal with the question, abundantly prove. And this hide-bound adherence to precedent was very cleverly engineered by Cardinal Vaughan in the interest of English Roman Catholics. No Roman canonist considers the rule against Anglican Orders an infallible utterance, or a decision that cannot be re-considered in the light of fresh evidence. One of the chief difficulties in the way, however, came from the Protestant clique in the Church of England who deny their own orders and priesthood. Archdeacon Taylor of Liverpool wrote a joyful letter applauding the Papal decision, for he was foolish enough to imagine that it would be a serious blow to Catholics in communion with the See of Canterbury. But he soon found out that he had made a very stupid blunder. Very few secessions to Rome followed the decision, and the elaborate attempt to provide special training at Rome for the vast numbers of Anglican priests, who were supposed to be seceding on account of the decision, proved a fiasco.

### Venice.

The usual sights of Rome have been so often described by better pens than mine that I do not attempt to record my impressions of them. I carried back with me some soil from a martyr's tomb in the Catacomb of Callixtus, and also some sand from the arena of the Colosseum, which I carefully preserve in the Sacristy of S. Mary's. Ravenna interested me deeply with its memories of Dante and the sixth-century frescoes of San Vitale.

Venice was a dream of enchantment. S. Mark's appealed to my mind, saturated as I was with Ruskin, but when I

heard the great Italian preacher holding a large congregation spell bound, I realised the spiritual *present* of S. Mark's as well as its historic past and external splendour. I saw the old Campanile which fell a few years afterwards, and I saw modern Venice in a blaze of gorgeous fireworks on the occasion of the launch of a cruiser built in Dante's old dockyard, whence he gleaned some of the imagery of the Inferno. I have always been a student of Dante, but I never realised him till I had been to Italy, especially to Florence and Ravenna. Savonarola's cell at Florence was of historical interest, but the man himself never appealed to me. He was badly handled and mismanaged, I always thought, and might have been great. But he was not a S. Francis or a S. Dominic, who were both level-headed saints, and consequently fit for leadership.

### Innsbruck.

From Venice we went to Innsbruck through the Trentino and the magnificent scenery of the Brenner Pass. I knew the story of Hofer and the "Year Nine," and found the Austrian Tyrol just as loyal to the Hapsburgs as it was then. There was a "Custozza-Fest" to commemorate the Italian defeat by the Austrians in the war of 1866.

The wonderful statues of Maxmilian's tomb have often been described, but I was deeply impressed with High Mass in the "Josephskirche". I also went to the Servite Church on a week-day, where I found a working-class congregation singing a vernacular Litany. The Servites are a wonderful Order, full of life and power. The Servite Abbot at Innsbruck had just offered a piece of ground as a gift to the Anglican Chaplain for the building of an English church. When I heard this I could not help contrasting it with the bitter hostility of English Roman Catholics and their narrow rigidity, which leads them, in many cases, to treat all

Anglicans as Pagans, and worse; which they do every time they violate their own Canon Law by re-baptising persons who have received valid baptism in accordance with our Book of Common Prayer. The most learned of post-reformation Popes, Benedict XIV ("De Synode Diocesiana," Lib. VII, Cap. 6, p. 173) lays down authoritatively as the decision of the Holy See (issued by Pius V) that there was to be no conditional re-baptism of Calvinists. This applied to the French Huguenots of the time of Henri Quatre, and is of universal application to all non-Roman baptisms, which are administered with the right Matter and Form. But this is a digression, prompted by a personal experience of my own, which caused some controversy.

### Strassburg.

We went from Innsbruck to Geneva and then through Mulhouse and Alsace to Strassburg, with its memories of the famous siege. We admired the beautiful cathedral and then went on to Cologne.

### Cologne.

The history of the gradual building of Cologne Cathedral is very interesting. Until 1840 a street passed through the unfinished mediæval Nave. The street was expropriated and the nave was gradually built. There is a document with the signatures of eminent men of various countries who were present when the fresh start in building took place. I was astonished to find that the representative of England was Lord Cardigan, the leader of the Balaclava Charge.

### The Three Kings.

I saw the coffer which contains the relics of the Magi, "the Three Kings of Cologne". There are no relics so well

authenticated historically as these. One of the Emperors of Constantinople procured the relics of the Magi from Persia during the fourth century, and they were enshrined there in the Church of S. Sophia. The Eastern Emperors desired to keep up their political hold on Italy, and the Emperor Emmanuel [1] transferred them to the Church of S. Eustorgius in Milan. When Frederic Barbarossa conquered Lombardy he transferred the relics of the Magi to Cologne; hence their title of "the Three Kings of Cologne". In 1794 the Chapter of Cologne fled before the advancing armies of the French Republic, and the casket of the Magi was carried by them to Frankfort-on-Main. The Canons were starving and penniless. The temptation was great and the golden and jewelled casket was valuable. But a pious layman found out that the Canons were ready to sell it. He took charge of it himself and asked Napoleon, who was the first Consul, for permission to restore it to Cologne Cathedral. Napoleon at that time wished to conciliate the Church, and on January 4th, 1804, the casket was once more replaced in the treasury of the Cathedral, where it still is.

## Cambridge.

We returned from the Continent by the Flushing route and spent some months in England. I went to Cambridge, and had the privilege of sitting with the Doctors of Divinity

[1] There is a slight error here, which I have not ventured to correct in the text, but which I am sure Archdeacon Wirgman would have detected on revision. The relics of the Three Kings were not sent to Milan by the Emperor Emmanuel (Manuel I, Comnenus), who was a contemporary of Barbarossa, but at a much earlier date. It seems probable that they were presented to the city by the Emperor Anastasius, about A.D. 511, as a reward for its complacency in accepting his nominee, the prefect Eustorgius, as its Bishop. By the twelfth century the cultus of the relics was ancient and firmly established in the city. —Ed.

at the University sermon. I also went to Oxford and saw some old friends. I was a good deal disturbed by the modernist manifesto, published under the title of "Contentio Veritatis" which seemed to me a misnomer, if the "Veritatis" meant the "Faith once delivered to the Saints".

### S. Alban's, Birmingham.

I was asked to preach at the Dedication Festival of S. Alban's, Birmingham, which I felt to be a great privilege as I knew the brothers Pollock so well when I was Curate of S. Michael's, Handsworth. I reminded the people that I had preached at their Harvest Festival some thirty years before in the little temporary church first built by James Pollock, and I contrasted the plain teaching of the Catholic Faith by these two devoted priests with the flabby and invertebrate heresy of "Contentio Veritatis". The sermon appeared in the "Church Times". I looked at it again the other day, and I have nothing to regret or modify in what I said. We returned to South Africa in the transport *Tagus*. The voyage was interesting because we touched at the Cape Verde Islands, which are out of the track of English tourists.

### Peace in South Africa.

Peace had been signed on May 31st, 1902, with the Boers still in the field. The Treaty of Vereeniging was honourable to both parties. Previous efforts of Lord Kitchener for peace had split on the rock of the root difference between British and Boer ideas of Native policy. A compromise was arrived at in the Peace Treaty, which has since been honourably kept, save by De Wet, whose rebellion in 1914 was ostensibly caused by a magistrate fining him 5s. for thrashing a native servant. The Peace Treaty was hurried, because King Edward desired peace before his Coronation. His sudden

illness and dangerous operation deferred the Coronation, and the aspect of the anxious and sorrowful crowds in London struck me very much. Off the Isle of Wight the *Tagus* passed the King's Yacht with the King on board on the way to convalescence. We dipped our Flag, and the Royal Yacht returned the compliment.

### Cape Verde Islands.

The Island of S. Vincent is one of the most barren places in the world. There is no trace of vegetation on it, save a few shrubs in pots and tubs at the Cable Station. We landed and found it incredibly dusty and hot. Just nine miles away is the beautiful and fertile island of S. Antonio. Every day boats from S. Antonio bring vegetables and produce to S. Vincent. There was an Anglican Chaplain to look after the Cable people, but I did not see him. The Portuguese Governor of the Islands lives in another island of the group, which is also fertile.

### S. Helena.

From the Cape Verde Islands we went to S. Helena, where we were ordered to embark the Boer prisoners who had taken the oath of allegiance on the conclusion of peace. We landed and saw Napoleon's grave, and called upon my old friend, Bishop Holmes. I knew him well as Dean of Grahamstown, and when the See of S. Helena was vacant, and there was some difficulty in finding a Bishop, I ventured to suggest his name to our late Archbishop, Dr. West-Jones. He at once accepted my suggestion, and the appointment was accepted all round.

### Return of Boer Prisoners.

The Boer prisoners at S. Helena had just had a royal row, which might have ended seriously if it had not been for the

bayonets of their guards. We allowed our prisoners great liberty and treated them more like interned civilians than prisoners of war. We have reaped the fruit of this kind treatment in the present day, when many of those prisoners of 1902 are serving as loyal soldiers of the King in our South African Defence Force. The cause of the trouble was that some of them were too bitter to take the oath of allegiance as the condition of returning to South Africa. This minority was led by Sarel Eloff, the nephew of President Kruger, and they assaulted the others with sticks and fists, until the military took them into close custody.

### Cronje.

General Cronje and most of the 4000 who surrendered with him at Paardeberg, on Majuba Day, 1900, were prisoners at S. Helena. Cronje egged on the minority and encouraged them not to take the oath, but when he found out that recalcitrancy did not pay, he promptly sent for the Governor, and took the oath himself. He was essentially a treacherous person, as the siege of Potchefstroom in 1881 showed, when he went on pounding the garrison, after an armistice had been arranged by Sir Evelyn Wood after Majuba. No one trusted him, and the recalcitrant Boers threatened his life, whilst the others despised him. I shall never forget his coming on board the *Tagus*. About 900 Boer officers and men of his late command were already on board, when, just before we sailed, a small launch came alongside with Cronje, his wife, and his secretary. The fear of death was in his face as he came up the ship's side and saw the bitter hostility in the faces of his men. No one recognised or saluted him. He seemed enveloped in a cloud of brooding silent hatred. He carefully kept to the saloon and his cabin. He tried to talk to me, but I did not encourage conversation. One of the Boer officers I met renewed his acquaintance with me in

1914, when he was a Captain on General Botha's Staff for the expedition which conquered German South-West Africa. We then had a talk about loyalty.

### Boer Loyalty.

He said that his loyalty to the Empire was based upon the fact that we had given free self-government to the Union of South Africa and that he was convinced that the future of his people lay *within* the British Empire and not *outside* of it. He remarked to me that an Englishman's loyalty was rooted in the traditions of national history, but that his loyalty to the Flag, though of a different *brand* from mine, was good enough to make him die fighting for the Empire if need be.

I told him that his loyalty was good and true stuff on which to build a united South African nation within the Empire. And we left it at that. His views were typical of those of the loyal Boers who fought with Botha in putting down De Wet's rebellion, and conquering German South-West Africa. General Botha, the first Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa in 1910, was the only Boer General, in Lord Kitchener's opinion, who showed outstanding military genius. His success in conquering German South-West Africa proves it.

### General Smuts.

Lord Kitchener, had he lived, would have modified this view after the successful campaign of General Smuts in East Africa. His subsequent appointment as the South African representative in the Imperial War Cabinet, and his tactful speeches in England show him to be a great statesman as well as a commander of undoubted military genius.

### General Botha's Loyalty.

In a speech in 1916 in the Union Parliament he expressed his loyalty as follows: "In the first place I am an Afrikander, who is absolutely loyal to the British Empire in this war, and I may say I have had great difficulties with friends of my own during the last fifteen months. We have done our utmost to preserve rest and order in this country. We have done our utmost to bring to a successful conclusion the campaign in German South-West Africa, and we have succeeded, and if necessary, Mr. Speaker, I am prepared to-day to take up arms and to do my utmost to bring the war to a successful issue. In my view we have to create a future here, and that future must be under the British flag. Under the German flag life would be like living in a coffin. I say therefore it is my sacred duty as an Afrikander to stand to-day by the British Empire."

These manly words show that General Botha and the loyal Afrikanders who follow him are a great asset to the Empire. The disloyal party have tried him sorely, as after all they are his people and many of them fought side by side with him in the Boer War. On the voyage from S. Helena to Capetown I had a good deal of talk with the Boer officers. One sturdy old Commandant, who had been taken prisoner after a temporarily successful assault on Baden-Powell's lines at Mafeking, said to me that he hoped to live with his children and grandchildren peaceably under the British flag.

### Dr. Leyds.

He said that Dr. Leyds (Kruger's evil genius) and the old President's "reptile press" *made* the war, and the Boers had to suffer for it. These newspaper men and Leyds had cleared out and left the Boers to their fate. "What if they came back

to the Transvaal?" I said. The old man scowled, and replied, "If I caught Leyds, or any of them on my farm, I would shoot him on sight, as I would a wolf!" And there were a goodly number of Boers who fought against us who were in sympathy with this old Commandant. The *Tagus* first put into Simonstown and landed Cronje and his party. "I always like to give a bagged fox a fair start," said our commanding officer. "The others shan't land until Cronje has got his train and a day's start before they follow him to the Transvaal." Cronje was carefully protected, and ultimately allowed to sail for America, where he ran a sort of "Wild West" show for a time. He ultimately returned to South Africa and died peaceably on his own farm.

## Lord Roberts.

There were many incidents of my life during the Boer War which would bear recalling. I select a few, the chief of which was my interview with Lord Roberts. He came to Port Elizabeth on his way to England and I had to accompany him when he inspected our Base Hospital. He was very pleased with all its arrangements. One detail was very funny. A huge Yorkshireman stood to attention in one of the wards with his arm in a sling. Lord Roberts said to me, "Let us ask him where he was wounded". He saluted and said "Please, Sir, I got droonk and had a scrap with a Kafir, and he bit t'end of me thoomb off". He was one of our local garrison. Lord Roberts burst out laughing and I joined, and we went on to find more interesting cases. We had a small contingent of Indian troopers to look after our Remount Depot. They all paraded for inspection and it was wonderful to see their faces light up with joy when they saw "Bobs Bahadur". One old native officer with several medals made a long Hindustani oration, to which Lord Roberts replied. I asked one of the staff what it was all about, and he told me

that after many compliments it ended with a grievance about a pension, which Lord Roberts promised to look into. I thought of my glimpse of Lord Roberts and his Indian soldiers when the news of his death came after his visit to the Indian Army Corps in France, and I felt that the grand old soldier was indeed "*felix opportunitate mortis*". Before he left Port Elizabeth Lord Roberts said to me that he wished to convey through me his thanks and appreciation of the services of the South African clergy who had acted as Chaplains to the forces. Over twenty of us so acted, and Lord Roberts said further, "If it had not been for you and the other South African clergy the work could not have been properly done, as the War Office had not made adequate arrangements for the Chaplains' work". I felt very proud to receive such a testimony to our work from the veteran Field-Marshal. In 1911 I was presented to the King at a Levée, and Lord Roberts was on the dais beside the King. He left the dais and was standing in the room through which we all passed after being presented. He looked at me as I was passing out, and came across and spoke to me. "I remember you at Port Elizabeth," he said, and I thought it was rather wonderful of him to have acquired this royal gift of recollecting people he had met. We had a few minutes' pleasant talk, which I afterwards cherished as an abiding memory of a great man, the greatest soldier of his day and time.

### Irish Soldiers.

I had two experiences of Irish soldiers. A large draft of the Tipperary Militia landed at Port Elizabeth as a relief for the Royal Irish Regiment. They were in charge of a young subaltern who evidently did not know how to handle them. He let them land without any breakfast, and then gave them 10s. a head deferred pay on the pier. Off they went,

breakfastless, to the nearest canteen, and the poor fellows soon got drunk and riotous. They broke up a hotel bar and drank all the liquor. They rampaged all over the city, and the poor subaltern fled for refuge to the club. The Staffords, who were in garrison, sent out large pickets, with fixed bayonets, and ultimately captured them all and drove them into the train for their destination. Wires were sent up the line to look out for them. After the first night's journey the train drew up at a garrison town, and the Commandant took a sensible view of the matter. He exhorted them from the platform and told them he had a guard of picked Sheffield "boxing men" with him, who would give a good "hammering" to the first man who gave trouble, and then he let them out, four at a time, and gave them *tea*. They were thankful enough and quiet enough after that, and at the next garrison the Commandant complimented the subaltern on having kept his men in such good order. But the boy was honest enough to say, "Oh, Sir! you should have seen them in Port Elizabeth!" Needless to add that these Irish lads fell to their duties with a good will, and made excellent soldiers when they joined their regiment.

### The Connaught Rangers.

I made a long journey once in a troop train with the Connaught Rangers after they had suffered severely in the terrible attack on Spion Kop. I never saw finer or better disciplined men. The officers were most delightful Irishmen of the best type. At that time officers were advised to take their metal rank badges from their shoulder straps, as they formed a mark for the Boer sharpshooters. But the Major of the Connaughts kept his badge on, and when I asked him why, he said, "If I'm to be shot, I'll be shot as a Major and an Irishman. I'm keeping me badges on." He introduced me to Captain Patrick Sarsfield, with the words "That's Irishman enough

for ye in all conscience". I thought of the great Sarsfield, and of Limerick, "the city of the broken Treaty," and I felt that a Sarsfield had a hereditary right to resent the perfidy of William of Orange. When we got to Naauwpoort Junction, some supper had been ordered for the officers, who were worn out and tired enough, but another troop train had passed about an hour before and eaten it all up. I knew the ropes, and worried the railway refreshment people till I got a tolerable supper for my friends of the Connaught Rangers, who were genially grateful to me. It was at this same Naauwpoort that I spent the coldest night of my life. The weather was bitter and there was no room for a shakedown for me in the station buildings. An officer kindly lent me a sleeping bag and I turned in to try to sleep in a shelter. But though I was in warmish khaki serge, I shivered miserably all night. I generally slept well enough under canvas, but that night was the "limit".

### Chaplain's Work in the Boer War.

I should like to record generally my impressions of a Chaplain's work in the Boer War. But it is enough for me to say that I noted the same readiness to meet every effort of the Chaplains which has been noted in the Great War which began in 1914. The men were eager to attend church parades, which I made as informal as possible, and they welcomed my ministrations in every way in hospital, in garrison and on the field. The officers gave me every facility in their power and always treated me with consideration and courtesy. I may conclude this chapter by referring the reader to an article I wrote in the "Nineteenth Century" for April, 1900, entitled "The Boers and the Native Question," remarking by way of appendix to the article that the war changed many things but above all it changed the views of the best of the Boers upon the Native question. The Dutch

Reformed authorities have realised their duty to the natives, and since the war have sent forth and supported about 100 missionaries to the heathen, while General Botha, the most trusted leader of the Boers of to-day, has shown himself a sympathetic Minister of Native Affairs.

## CHAPTER IX.

### THE DEATH OF CECIL RHODES. RE-SETTLEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA.

#### The Death of Rhodes.

Whilst I was in England in 1902 the Empire and South Africa lost a great statesman and Empire-builder by the death of Cecil Rhodes. His character I have already estimated from the point of view of a personal friendship which had extended over many years. Writing as I do, some fourteen years after his death, I venture to think that his memory is more truly honoured than ever in the minds of all true citizens of our Empire, and that his life work leaves a deeper impress as the years pass on, whilst his failings, or rather the failings of those who acted with him, are forgotten.

#### Lord Milner's Policy.

He died at a crucial period in South African history. The war had left bitter memories, and Lord Milner's task of reconstruction was difficult in the extreme. He had to build up the political and social life of the conquered republics, and show the men who had fought against us that we meant to give them full liberty under the British flag and their full rights as citizens of the Empire. Before the war was over he began to reorganise the educational systems of the

Transvaal and Free State and got good men to help him. He reconstructed the Civil Service and the Judicial Bench and appointed stipendiary magistrates for each district. The story of his great work has been told in detail by an abler pen than mine. Mr. Worsfold's book on Lord Milner's work is one to be read and kept. The Imperial Government spent huge sums of money in repatriating the Boers on their farms, and in a few years South Africa began gradually to recover. Crown Colony government was naturally and inevitably the successor of martial law in the conquered territories, but it was administered on the broadest possible basis.

### Lord Milner and Chinese Labour.

Lord Milner was blamed for introducing Chinese labour at Johannesburg. But his hand was forced by the Portuguese. The bulk of the native labour for the Johannesburg gold mines came from the Portuguese province of Mozambique, with its port of Delagoa Bay. The South African labour supply was insufficient for two reasons. The natives had made money and got good employment in many ways during the Boer War. They are naturally pastoralists and agriculturalists. High wages drove them to the mines, but so long as the money lasted that they had made during the war they would not take to mining. Many of them were able to settle on the land and Johannesburg had no attractions for them. The mining industry had been practically closed by the war. Its successful reopening was an Imperial question, and not merely a matter for the shareholders of the mines. The gold output of Johannesburg had become of world-wide importance. The Portuguese took advantage of the situation, and stopped the labour supply from their territories. They asked for terms which Lord Milner felt it impossible and unjust to grant them. The only solution, and that confessedly a temporary one, was the importation of Chinese labour. It

was successful in every way, for it brought the Portuguese to reason, and it restarted the gold industry. Very soon the Chinese were repatriated to a man, and the labour supply flowed in regularly from its previous sources.

### The Political Lie of "Chinese Slavery".

I was in Johannesburg whilst the Chinese were working there, and no set of labourers could have been better housed or cared for. The abominable outcry of "Chinese slavery" that was raised in England for political purposes by men who knew that their allegations were utterly false, was the most cynical and libellous party watchword that ever disgraced English politics. The world war of 1914 will change many things. We may legitimately hope that it will change the methods of our politics, and prevent the circulation of wilful lies and foul slanders as legitimate weapons of party strife.

### The Will of Cecil Rhodes.

The death of Cecil Rhodes in 1902 removed the foremost figure in the political life of South Africa. He knew that he was stricken with a fatal disease for some time before the end came, and he set his house in order by making his famous will.

### The Rhodes Scholars.

Even now we can estimate the value to Oxford of the vigorous influx of life which the Rhodes Scholars brought to that ancient University. And we can also trace in the lives of the men thus brought from the Colonies and America to such a central seat of English culture and learning, the abiding impress for good which it has left upon them. Rhodes showed himself a true Imperialist in thus binding the sons

of the Empire together by a common ideal higher than mere material instincts.

### Rhodes Sympathetic to Boers and Natives.

To me South Africa seemed a different place without Rhodes. I had lost a kind and sympathetic friend. South Africa had lost a selfless patriot whose life work had been devoted to her best and highest interests. Rhodes understood the Dutch South African and sympathised with his ideals. Not even the Jameson Raid or the Boer War could efface the memory of that sympathy from the minds of the best and most thoughtful Dutch South Africans. He also understood the natives. He was the author of the "Glen Grey" Act, which was a measure which applied local self-government and fixity of land tenure to an important native district. The natives had not then emerged from "tribal tenure" as it once existed in the Highlands of Scotland. The chief held the land for his tribe, and his tribesmen were his servants and soldiers. Rhodes saw that "individual tenure" was the pathway of safety and loyalty for the native races. Each man had his own plot of land which he was forbidden to sell or mortgage to a white man. Unscrupulous land speculators were thus checkmated, and the native learnt the value of a stable government which ensured to him the possession of his property so long as he was a peaceable and law-abiding citizen. Rhodes' Act also provided for local self-government by a council of natives elected by natives. It has worked well and is now extended to the whole of the populous native territories of the Transkei, the scenes of the native wars of 1877 and 1880. The natives readily pay their taxes, now that the money is spent in the native territories, and they are consulted as to its expenditure. The Native "Parliament," or Council, of the Transkei is practically responsible for education, the up-keep of roads, etc.—in fact,

for the work done by County Councils in England. The Chief Magistrate of the Transkei sits as its President with a veto on its procedings, and the consent of the Minister of Native Affairs is required to give the force of law to its enactments. The debates are in the Kafir language, and the Council has amply justified its existence. There are over 700 native Government schools in the Transkei which are subsidised by the native Council. The certificated teachers are nearly all natives, and the Inspectors are Europeans appointed by the Department of Education. These schools are all practically "denominational," and were originally started by the Missionaries. To educate the natives without religious teaching would ruin them and cause them to become a grave danger to the State. This was the deliberate opinion of Lord Milner's Commission on Native Affairs, which reported in 1905.

But the greatest loss to South Africa was the death of Rhodes at the crucial point of its history. Had he been spared to continue his work in welding Dutch and British South Africans into a united nation after the war I believe that our persistent racial difficulty would have vanished, and that there would have been no rebellion in 1914.

Canon Scott Holland (in his "Personal Studies," p. 174) arrives at an entirely false estimate of the attitude of Rhodes towards religion. He coloured his entire estimate of Rhodes by the Raid, for which, as I have shown before, he was not immediately responsible. He chivalrously shouldered blame that was not his, and Canon Scott Holland did not know him as he really was. He viewed him through Stead's spectacles, but Stead never knew the real Rhodes. He looked upon him as a Theist without any consciousness of the obligations of moral conduct. He was utterly wrong, and his false estimate was very painful to men who knew Rhodes as I did. Rhodes was not an irreligious man. It is true that he was not a church-goer. He was the son of a

clergyman, and possibly his early surroundings were somewhat cramped from a religious point of view. He complained that the Church of England never could make up her mind to definite action and a definite corporate policy. He saw her weakness, and did not realise her witness to historical Christianity. I have always thought that his chronic ill health made him too physically restless to endure a service in church. When he was Premier of the Cape this restlessness was very manifest when he sat in Parliament. He could not sit still, and escaped from debate whenever he could. He was restless in his home life. He would have men in his room discussing politics whilst he was dressing, and his meals were subject to continual interruptions. He was at luncheon one day deep in politics with some friends when a little boy (son of a friend of mine) came very gently up to him and said, "Please, Mr. Rhodes, I want to see your lions". Rhodes left the table at once with the child, with a rapid excuse to his friends, and took him off to the lion-house in the grounds of his beautiful home at Groot Schuur. It was characteristic alike of his restlessness and his love for children. His words on his death-bed, "So much to do, so little done," were typical of his life and its manifold, if somewhat unmethodical, activities. His office-work as Prime Minister was hateful to him. He abhorred routine and conventionality. But he was not irreligious. One Christmas at Kimberley he wished to arrange for a day's sports for his workmen at the diamond mines. As usual he left the details to others, and they arranged sports for Christmas Day that interfered with the hours for Church services. The programmes were all printed, and Bishop Gaul, who was then Rector and Archdeacon of Kimberley, wrote an indignant letter to Rhodes on the subject. Rhodes was at the Club with some friends and he remarked that the Archdeacon had given him a good slating for interfering with the Church services. His obsequious satellites at once began abusing

the Archdeacon's impudence and meddlesome interference, now that all the arrangements were complete. Rhodes was silent for a moment. He then said, "No, the Archdeacon is quite right, though a bit peppery. Don't you forget that I am a parson's son, and I understand. Cancel the whole programme at once, and consult the Archdeacon about the hours to be left free for Church services". This was at once carried out, and it showed that Rhodes respected the Church. This, of course, was an outward matter, but the words he used about prayer in a letter to the Archbishop of Capetown give one a glimpse of his inner thoughts. He wrote as follows: "I often think that prayer represents the daily expression to oneself of the right thing to do and is a reminder to the human soul that it must direct the body on such lines". These are not the words of the cynical Theist depicted by Canon Scott Holland. They express one side of prayer with some accuracy.

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

S. Mary's Rectory is a plain two-storied building standing in a terrace overlooking the church, from which it is separated by just the width of the road. Upstairs, running the length of the frontage, is a narrow balcony, from which the visitor looks straight into the quasi-east window of the sanctuary, and across the little terraced garden into the cloisters below. The far corner of this balcony was Archdeacon Wirgman's open-air sanctum. Many among the readers of the Reminiscences will recall the familiar picture. There, seated in a low chair, with his favourite calabash pipe in full play, the Archdeacon would generally be found when at home. At his elbow would be a small table, covered with letters and writing material and adorned with a bag of good Transvaal tobacco. On the other side was a shelf, supporting sundry pipes in reserve, for use when the favourite needed a rest. Here he read, and thought, and dreamed dreams; here he wrote much of his voluminous correspondence, planned his books and sketched their outlines; here he received church officers and discussed affairs of the parish; and here he talked great talks with all manner of men on all manner of topics. *Nihil humani a me alienum puto* might well have been his motto. Everything interested him. Everything, that is, except philosophy. "Philosophy is no good," he would say, giving an affectionate rub to his beloved calabash; "it bores me." Otherwise there was no topic

under the sun which did not meet with a cordial welcome and liberal entertainment in this genial corner.

His interest in things human, however, was by no means merely academical. His energy was as wonderful, as his interest was keen. At Cambridge he rowed for Magdalene; he was an enthusiastic member of the Port Elizabeth Cricket Club and for many years was a prominent figure in the playing field; he dearly loved his game of billiards; he took an active share in the work of local Boards and Committees; he was an ardent Free Mason and a keen politician. For nearly forty years he was Chaplain to that historic regiment, Prince Alfred's Guard, and was proud of the decoration which was conferred on him in later years as Senior Chaplain to the Forces in South Africa, a distinction which he prized next to that of being Honorary Chaplain to the King.

Wide and varied as were his interests and activities, it is nevertheless as an ecclesiastic that Archdeacon Wirgman commands attention, and it is by his work as such that he will be remembered and appraised.

When in 1875 he came into residence as Rector and Colonial Chaplain of the mother church of Port Elizabeth, the citizens of that seaport town quickly realised the advent into the community of a new and very vital force. He brought to the work a clear-cut policy; his Churchmanship was definite and uncompromising; there never was any uncertainty in his mind on matters of doctrine, discipline or administration. He set himself the task of making S. Mary's a strong centre of catholic principle; its services a model of stately worship. Furthermore, it was to be the source of that spiritual influence which he ever endeavoured to infuse into civic life and all the many public movements in which he never failed to take his part. He invested S. Mary's with a responsibility as exacting as it was far-reaching. As the mother church of the town, and centrally situated, it was natural that her influence should be, as it always has been,

paramount in Church life locally and in no small degree active in civic and social affairs. But the Archdeacon's vision covered a much wider field. S. Mary's was to set a standard, in the statement of doctrine, in ritual and in churchmanship generally, not only for the town, but for the diocese and province. Its light was not to be hid. It had to show the Church in South Africa how things should be done. It was to this end that he courted publicity. Not so much because he desired to attract attention to himself, but rather because he, that is S. Mary's (*L'église c'est moi*), was doing the right thing in the right way, and was anxious that others should come and see, and then go and do likewise. He was ambitious for S. Mary's and its influence. The effect of this ambitious view of its responsibility was seen in two directions. Firstly, in his intense devotion to S. Mary's Church itself, its music, ritual, appointments and architecture; in his faithful maintenance of the daily Eucharist and daily offices; in the utmost care and technical knowledge expended on the carrying out of ceremonial functions; and above all in the profound reverence with which he sought to embellish and dignify the service of the Altar as the pivot of the whole structure of catholic worship. This was the centripetal aspect of his life's energy. No less striking was its centrifugal tendency. This was expressed in a readiness, one might say an alacrity, with which he threw himself into the service of the Church and State beyond the borders of his immediate sphere. He was an effective speaker at public meetings; a constant and trenchant contributor to the press on matters political as well as ecclesiastical; the editor of the "Southern Cross" (1890-1901), and later of the "South African Church Quarterly Review" (1906-11); an invaluable member of diocesan and provincial Synods, Boards, and Committees; a writer of many learned books. In addition to all this and very much more, he maintained a private correspondence, on an extraordinary scale, with all manner of people, many of them well

known figures in the political, ecclesiastical, and literary worlds. This remarkable output of work on the part of one who was Rector of a populous and wide-spread parish was only rendered possible by the fact that the Archdeacon possessed two gifts not always recognised by the casual observer, who probably regarded him as chiefly the embodiment of exuberant spirits, conspicuous ability and restless energy. These were method and the power of concentration.

But no human character may be weighed *in vacuo;* no human personality may be portrayed in isolation. This is especially true of Archdeacon Wirgman, who owed more than it is possible to estimate to the intimate companionship of one who lived and worked at his side during the whole of his South African career of five and forty years. A total inability to do justice to Mrs. Wirgman's influence and its full significance in the Archdeacon's career, will, it is hoped, be generously pardoned. But there could be no pardon for failing to pay a respectful tribute to her splendid record of devotion and loving service to her husband and to the work so dear to them both. Here, in this quiet Rectory, for over forty years, she made his welfare and happiness, his efforts and his ambitions, her own supreme charge. In his successes and failures (not a few), in peace and storm (and there were many storms), she was always the staunch comrade, ever at hand with ready intuition and watchful sympathy, with encouragement and counsel. To only one other was it given to know the real extent and value of this gracious influence in the life of the Archdeacon, whose temperament, with its frequent alternations of buoyancy and depression, needed above all else, just this compensating balance. Nor must we omit to recall the unaffected and unfailing hospitality so long associated with S. Mary's Rectory. Numberless are those who have experienced it, and who will ever remember the camaraderie of their genial host (who, by the way, was an amazing raconteur), and the thoughtful care and kindness of

their hostess. Young clergy from the Old Country, young people coming out to take up appointments in South Africa, others to seek for work; the pathetically hopeful invalid in search of health; dignitaries of the Church; men and women distinguished in letters, politics or affairs—many indeed have they been who have found a welcome here, and have gone on their ways with grateful memories of the motherly kindness and cheerful hospitality they had received. Nor did Mrs. Wirgman confine herself to the duties of the home, for she was an indefatigable worker in all that pertained to the church and the parish, and was the personal friend of the members of its large and varied congregation in all their joys and sorrows; and when, after the death of the Archdeacon, Mrs. Wirgman finally left the home of her adoption for the land of her birth, it was with the respect and affection of a people who will never forget her nobility of character, her dignity of manner and her long and loving service.

No picture of the Archdeacon would be complete, indeed it would be no picture at all, which did not give, or at least attempt to give, due place and perspective to one other whose association with the subject of this brief essay is unique in more ways than one.

The Rev. Cuthbert Edward Mayo was ordained Deacon in 1883, receiving his title as Curate of S. Mary's, Port Elizabeth. In 1888 he became Precentor, and as such brought his artistic sense and knowledge of music to bear on the services of the Church, and to him is largely due the very high standard of excellence which the rendering of the services soon attained, and which has been so admirably maintained ever since. He has devoted a large part of his life and energy to the task of beautifying the services with sound Cathedral music, as an offering to God of the fruit of that divine gift of song with which He has endowed mankind. On the death of the Archdeacon in 1917, Mr. Mayo became Rector and Vice-provost, and a little later was elected by the clergy of the diocese a

Canon of Grahamstown Cathedral. A few years after his ordination Mr. Mayo took up his residence with Mr. and Mrs. Wirgman at S. Mary's Rectory, and there he has resided from that day to this. He therefore not only worked side by side with the Archdeacon in the same church and parish for thirty-five years, but lived in the same house with him during thirty years of that long period. It is given to few men to live and work in such close and intimate association for so many years, and few indeed must be the men who could stand so long and stringent a test of mutual understanding and fellowship. Far as the poles asunder in temperament, they were in complete sympathy in matters of Church principle, both equally devoted to S. Mary's, and bound together by the bonds of friendship and mutual esteem. When the special conditions governing the relations of the clergy of S. Mary's Collegiate Church are taken into consideration, it will readily be seen how fraught with difficulties such a relationship could become were the personal equation to fail. The Precentor of S. Mary's, in addition to his being required to "discharge all his duties in due subordination to the Rector," is, at the same time, in virtue of his office, "a beneficed priest with fixity of tenure," invested with very real executive powers. The dangers inherent in such an arrangement are sufficiently obvious. The possibilities of friction must be many, and serious disagreement would naturally affect the efficiency of the work as well as the spiritual life of all concerned. The position at best is one which is bound to impose a severe strain on the patience and self-restraint of any two men holding these offices. In the case of Archdeacon Wirgman and Canon Mayo, both men of pronounced personality and strong convictions, the test was as wonderfully sustained as it was long continued. The marked efficiency of the work at S. Mary's, the beauty of the services, and the spirit of earnestness pervading all its activities, are a fine tribute to the harmonising power of a true friendship and

a complete devotion to their common service *pro Deo et ecclesia.*

SI MONUMENTUM REQUIRIS CIRCUMSPICE.

The Church of S. Mary itself will always be the main evidence of Archdeacon Wirgman's energy and courage. The original building (erected in 1825) was destroyed by fire on the night of March the 9th, 1895 (see p. 236), and before its ashes were cold he had commenced to plan its rebuilding on a larger and nobler scale. In September, 1896, just eighteen months after the fire, the new choir was consecrated by Bishop Webb. It constitutes one of the most important contributions so far made to the architecture of the South African Church. Spacious and stately, richly furnished, yet retaining that severity which safeguards the dignity of a sanctuary, the whole fabric seems to breathe upon the beholder the very atmosphere of worship, so that he cannot but say "This is none other than the house of God".

The raising of the new S. Mary's from the ashes of the old does not represent the whole of the Archdeacon's work as a builder. In 1877 the Church of All Saints was built at Sandflats, some fifty miles from Port Elizabeth, in the direction of Grahamstown. This church was for many years served by the clergy of S. Mary's. In 1878 S. Peter's was opened, to meet the requirements of the very mixed population of the south end of the town. The Rev. George Smith was the first Rector and did yeoman service among the white and coloured people. The Church day school in connection with S. Peter's is to-day the largest Church school for coloured children in the diocese. S. John's, Walmer, was consecrated in 1882 by Bishop Merriman, for the convenience of Church people living in what was then a garden suburb of Port Elizabeth, but has since become a municipality and a parish. The little church of S. John's is as picturesque and as

altogether delightful as are its surroundings of scattered villas, beautiful gardens and wooded avenues.

In 1884 S. Cuthbert's was opened by Bishop Webb, as a memorial to Robert Gray, Bishop of Cape Town, and as a Chapel of Ease to S. Mary's, to serve the growing district on either side of the Cape road. Part of the money for the building of this church was raised by the Archdeacon while on a visit to England in 1882 (see p. 144), an occasion which with characteristic zeal he used for the purpose of enlisting the interest of Churchmen in the old country in the affairs of the Church in South Africa. Nor did he miss the opportunity thus afforded him to impart some much-needed instruction on the true condition of Church life in this country, and on the real feelings and aspirations of South African Churchmen. S. Cuthbert's was for some years served by the clergy of S. Mary's, till in 1888 the Rev. John Fitch Sinden was appointed Vicar. In 1900 the present chancel in brick was erected, and, in 1907, S. Cuthbert's became a parish Church.

S. Alban's, built in 1904, is a little church situated at Draaifontein, twenty miles from town, at a point midway between the Cape road and the sea. This little temple in the wilds is a boon much prized by the dwellers on the lonely farms, who appreciate the thoughtful care for their spiritual welfare on the part of the Mother Church, whose clergy have maintained regular periodical services here in spite of the difficulties entailed by distance and by roads sometimes well-nigh impassable.

The Church of S. Barnabas, designed by Canon Mayo, was erected at Sydenham in 1904. It is within the parish of S. Paul, by whose Clergy it is served.

The diminutive church of S. Paul, Hankey, in the parish of Humansdorp, was opened in 1910, and has since been enlarged. S. Agnes', Zwartkops, though erected during the Archdeacon's régime, owes its existence (and that a very

useful one) entirely to the initiative and energy of the Rev. R. J. J. Garrod, Priest Vicar of S. Mary's and Priest-in-charge of Zwartkops (1912-13). Such is the record of the development of Church life as indicated by the erection of new centres of worship during the Archdeacon's ministry in Port Elizabeth. The churches already existing in the town when he entered upon that ministry in 1875, were S. Paul's Parish Church at the north end, with which will always be associated the honoured name of the Rev. Samuel Brooks, and Holy Trinity Church, situated in a commanding position on "The Hill". There was also S. Philip's Mission Church in the Parish of S. Paul, raised by the coloured people for their own use, and for many years served by the Rev. P. R. Mollett.

Special work has for some years been conducted among the poorer coloured people of the north end by S. Mark's Mission. This work, which includes a promising mission to the Chinese inhabitants, is closely associated with the heroic efforts of the Sisters of S. Mark's Mission House, a branch of S. Peter's Home, Grahamstown (Community of the Resurrection), who have laboured with unremitting devotion for nearly forty years among the dwellers in the surrounding slums. In the town itself is the Native Church of S. Stephen's, while there is also a Mission church in the large native location at New Brighton, five miles out. In addition, there are many smaller Mission stations scattered abroad in the country districts. The Church Order of Ethiopia has also a number of Missions within the Archdeaconry. Lastly, there is the rural town and extensive parish of Humansdorp, lying seventy miles to the westward, but also coming within the same jurisdiction.

There was one other institution to which reference should be made. Out of all patience with the circumscribed methods of the existing Educational system and with its totally unsatisfactory arrangements for religious instruction,

Archdeacon Wirgman was impressed with the need of a Church school and threw his energies into the Diocesan Grammar School. There for some years he shared the work of teaching with his excellent schoolmaster colleague, the Rev. Alexander Grant, afterwards Archdeacon of East London. Later, the school was in the hands of the Rev. R. H. Ryland and Mr. H. S. Mayo. The financial handicap, however, in favour of the Government Schools, was too much for the Church institution, which eventually succumbed. The building, situated at the top of White's Road, is now used as an Art School. But there are very many "Old Boys" in Port Elizabeth and elsewhere who remember the Diocesan Grammar School with gratitude and affection, and it undoubtedly played an important and influential part in the educational life of the town.

These details are enumerated in order to afford some indication of the nature and extent of the sphere into which Archdeacon Wirgman carried the exercise of his personal and official influence. As Rural Dean, from 1884 to 1896, and still more conspicuously as Archdeacon, from 1907 till his death in 1917, he manifested the most alert interest in the work of the various parishes and missions, and was always ready with practical sympathy and counsel wherever any of his brethren of the clergy or any of the lay church officers stood in need of them. It was characteristic of him that no office, great or small, when he had once assumed it, was ever allowed to become a sinecure. He put all his energies into it and used its opportunities to the full. He valued highly his Archidiaconal privileges and rights, such as those of visitation, of the admission of church officers, of the induction of clergy to the temporalities of their cures—inasmuch as these occasions enabled him to impress upon his hearers the principles of Church law and government, and to emphasise the right relationship between parishes and missions on the one hand, and the diocese on the other, as the true unit of

the Church's organised life. In this connection he did much to promote a due sense of responsibility in the matter of diocesan finance, as a consequence of which Churchmen in this Archdeaconry to-day view the financial requirements of the diocese with as much sympathetic interest as they do those of their own parishes, and readily meet, so far as they can, the larger obligations involved.

It would not be writing true history were it allowed to appear that the Archdeacon's activities were always viewed with universal approval, or that his relations with those with whom he had to deal officially were always harmonious. This would be too much to expect of any man; far too much to expect of Archdeacon Wirgman. His exuberance of spirits sometimes led him into situations in which impulse predominated over judgment; his absorbing interest in whatever was going on sometimes provoked resentment in quarters where his intervention was deemed not necessary; and often a dominating manner, of which he was quite unconscious, caused irritation and friction which seriously militated against the success of the most excellent intentions; while, at other times, the trenchant quality of his utterances told against the soundness of his position, and made enemies. With his temperamental outfit much of this was inevitable. Nevertheless, with full recognition of the justice of the foregoing observations, it is only fair to say that the Archdeacon achieved a great work in his Archdeaconry, in breaking up the worst traditions of parochial insularity and in promoting a truer view of churchmanship. His very insistence on his Archidiaconal rights and functions, in itself did much good, inasmuch as it compelled people to take account of the Church's system of government; and to realise that neither priest nor parishioner liveth unto himself or dieth unto himself, but must live and work as part of the great Catholic Church of Christ, in which the diocese is the unit of organisation.

Very dear to the heart of Archdeacon Wirgman was his ideal of that corporate unity of the clergy which found expression in the Collegiate Chapter of the Church of S. Mary. By a deed of Constitution, promulgated with due legal formalities by Bishop Webb in 1888, S. Mary's became a Collegiate Church, which, together with its parish, was in future to be ordered and governed by the Constitution and Statutes set forth and laid down in that document, the terms of which are here given in full.

### Deed of Constitution.

To all Christian people to whom these presents shall come, Allan Becher, by Divine permission Bishop of Grahamstown, sendeth greeting.—Know you that by virtue of our Ordinary and Episcopal Jurisdiction, We, the Bishop aforesaid, by virtue of a Deed of Agreement, signed by Us on the twenty-eighth day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight, and thereby entered upon by Us with the Vestry of S. Mary's Church, Port Elizabeth, do hereby ordain and appoint that the Church of S. Mary, Port Elizabeth, become henceforth and is hereby constituted,

### Our Collegiate Church of S. Mary,

Port Elizabeth, and that the said Collegiate Church and Parish shall be ordered and governed by the Constitution and Statutes hereby granted and determined by us.

### I. Of the Collegiate Chapter.

The Collegiate Chapter of the Church of S. Mary the Virgin, Port Elizabeth, shall consist of the Bishop of Grahamstown for the time being, as Provost, the Archdeacon of Port Elizabeth, the Vice-Provost and Rector of S. Mary's, the

Rural Dean of Port Elizabeth, the Precentor of S. Mary's, the Vicar of S. Cuthbert's, Port Elizabeth, the Rector of S. John's, Walmer, and the Rector of S. Peter's, Port Elizabeth, as *ex-officio* Priests Associate, the said Priests Associate, other than the Archdeacon, Vice-Provost, and Rural Dean, ranking in accordance with their seniority in Priest's orders. Provided that the Bishop, as Provost, hereby reserves to himself the appointment of such other clergy as he may deem expedient, with such status, honorary or substantive, as members of the Collegiate Chapter as may be determined by him, after consultation with the Collegiate Chapter aforesaid, and that the Rectors and Incumbents of parishes within the Rural Deanery of Port Elizabeth, shall have the status of Honorary Members of the Collegiate Chapter.

The Bishop, as Provost, shall summon the Collegiate Chapter, through the Vice-Provost, and preside therein. But if the Bishop be hindered from being present, he shall direct the Archdeacon, or Vice-Provost, to preside therein, with authority to exercise the Provost's casting vote, it being provided always that the minutes of all meetings held in the absence of the Provost, be confirmed by him at the first subsequent meeting at which he is present in person. The Collegiate Chapter shall meet within the Octave of the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Sept. 8th), being the Feast of the Dedication of S. Mary's Collegiate Church, and also within the Octave of the Feast of the Annunciation of our Lady (March 25th), commonly called Lady Day.

### II. Of the Archdeacon and Rural Dean.

The Archdeacon and Rural Dean (within whose Archdeaconry and Rural Deanery, respectively, the Collegiate Church and Parish of S. Mary is territorially situated) shall be installed as *ex-officio* members of the Collegiate Chapter, and shall exercise, in the Collegiate Church and

Parish aforesaid, all the duties and functions of their respective offices under the general and special direction of the Provost, who is the Lord Bishop of the diocese for the time being. The Archdeacon shall have precedence in the Choir, and in all offices and ecclesiastical functions within the Collegiate Church and Parish of S. Mary immediately after the Provost, and before the Vice-Provost. The Rural Dean shall have similar precedence immediately after the Vice-Provost, and before the other members of the Collegiate Chapter.

### III. Of the Vice-Provost and Rector.

The Vice-Provost is the Provost's deputy for the maintenance of Divine Worship in accordance with the statutes. The Rector has the cure of souls in the Collegiate Church and Parish of S. Mary. He presides at all meetings of the vestry of S. Mary's Collegiate Church. He is the scriba of the Collegiate Chapter, and the custodian of its minute book. The Rector is appointed by the Bishop, after consultation with the Collegiate Chapter, and with the Vestry of the Collegiate Church aforesaid. The Rector is *ex-officio* Vice-Provost unless the Provost and the Collegiate Chapter shall, upon a vacancy occurring in the office, decide that the Archdeacon *pro hac vice* shall be Vice-Provost.

### IV. Of the Priests Associate.

The Priests Associate, with the Bishop as Provost, constitute the Collegiate Chapter of the Church of S. Mary the Virgin, Port Elizabeth.

Under him they form a Corporation of Beneficed Priests, who shall be duly installed to their respective stalls in the choir of S. Mary's Collegiate Church. The Vice-Provost and the other members of the Collegiate Chapter are responsible

for the daily Eucharist in S. Mary's Collegiate Church. The rota of celebrants, which shall include the Honorary Priests Associate, at their option, shall be arranged by the Collegiate Chapter and signed by the Bishop as Provost. The Priests Associate of the Collegiate Chapter shall have the right of preaching once in six months in S. Mary's Collegiate Church, by arrangement with the Vice-Provost.

The Precentor of S. Mary's Collegiate Church shall be appointed by the Bishop, upon the nomination of the Collegiate Chapter, after consultation with the Vestry of S. Mary's. The Rector of Walmer shall be appointed by the Bishop, after consultation with the Collegiate Chapter and the Vestry of S. John's, Walmer.

### V. Of the Precentor.

The Precentor of S. Mary's Collegiate Church is the Vicar of the Collegiate Chapter, and is a Beneficed Priest with the fixity of tenure provided by the Canons of the Church of this Province. He shall regulate the worship of the Collegiate Church aforesaid, and shall have the general control of the organist and choir. He shall admit, and dismiss, if necessary, members of the choir, and shall appoint the music to be sung. He shall maintain, to the best of his power and ability, the Cathedral standard of worship in the Collegiate Church aforesaid, and shall take his share in the duties of the said Church and Parish of S. Mary as it may be apportioned to him by the Provost, Vice-Provost, and Rector, discharging all his duties in due subordination to the same.

### VI. Of Installation.

When appointed, members of the Collegiate Chapter shall be installed according to a form provided for that purpose, having first made such subscriptions and declarations as are

enjoined by the Canons of this Province, as well as the following declaration—"I, A. B., appointed a member of the Chapter of the Collegiate Church of S. Mary the Virgin, Port Elizabeth, in the Diocese of Grahamstown, do profess and promise due Canonical obedience to the Lord Bishop, and to the Statutes of the said Collegiate Church, which are, or shall be, imposed by the authority of the Bishop, with the consent of the Collegiate Chapter, for the furtherance of the work of Christ and His Church in this Diocese. So help me God, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen".

### VII. Of the Succentor and Priest Vicars.

A Succentor, and also Priest Vicars, may be appointed by the Rector (with the consent of the Bishop as Provost), but they shall not be *ex officio* members of the Collegiate Chapter.

### VIII. Of the Services of the Church.

The standard of worship in S. Mary's Collegiate Church shall be conformed, in all essential points, to that of the Cathedral Church of the diocese, and no changes shall be made in the ritual and ceremonial in use at the date of this present revision of the statutes, without the consent of the Collegiate Chapter.

### IX. Of the Statutes.

In case any doubts arise as to the meaning or interpretation of the Statutes of S. Mary's Collegiate Church, reference shall be made to the Provost, whose decision shall be final. No alteration, or addition, shall be made in the Statutes aforesaid, without the consent of the Bishop for the time being, as Provost, and the consent of the Collegiate Chapter.

Given under our Hand and Seal, as thus altered and revised from the Statutes originally granted by ALLAN BECHER, Fourth Bishop of Grahamstown, in the year 1888, and amended under his Hand and Seal in the year 1896; on this fourth day of September in the year of our Lord One thousand nine hundred and seven, and of our Consecration the ninth year.

L.S. CHARLES E. GRAHAMSTOWN.

Here is an interesting attempt to attain unity among the parishes of a modern Rural Deanery on somewhat mediæval lines; to bring about a corporate life among clergy living and working apart and under widely different conditions; to secure by means of such an association some degree of uniformity in the conduct of services in the various churches within a given area, and to ensure continuity of policy in the appointment of parish priests.

The somewhat elaborate relationships involved, as between the members of the Collegiate Chapter themselves, and as between the Collegiate Chapter and other interests concerned, have not been altogether unproductive of difficulties; but these have not been serious. There was at one time and in some quarters a very real suspicion that a strict exercise of its power under the constitution might involve the Chapter's infringement of the rights and liberties of independent parishes, their vestries and clergy. All such fears have long since disappeared. The Collegiate Church of S. Mary is and will continue to be the centre of Church life in Port Elizabeth and will ever be regarded with affection and respect as their spiritual mother by all the churches which have grown up round about her; while the Collegiate Chapter will proceed in its endeavour to realise the ideal of him who strove so long and earnestly to give it form.

In the broader fields of the diocese and province Archdeacon Wirgman was a vigorous and enthusiastic worker. As a

member of the Cathedral Chapter he was in the privy council of the Bishop of Grahamstown. The transactions of a Cathedral Chapter being of the nature of mysteries not to be probed by the uninitiated, we must content ourselves with the sure and certain conviction that if there was one dull dog among the reverend seigneurs in Chapter assembled, that one would not be the Archdeacon of Port Elizabeth. His vivid personality would vitalise any assembly, however grave; while his mental activity and forensic resourcefulness in debate challenged the most alert attention on the part of his colleagues in council. As Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of his own diocese, as well as to the Bishop of Mashonaland, he had an opportunity for exercising his influence in the education and theological training of candidates for Holy Orders and of the junior clergy; a task for which his own scholarship, and especially his attainments in Theology and Canon Law, rendered him eminently fitted. In the Diocesan Synod he held the position which his status and striking individuality naturally assured him, and until very recent years, he took his full share in open debate and in committee work. His upstanding figure, arrayed in the scarlet robes of a Cambridge Doctor of Divinity, crowned latterly with the silvery insignia of advancing years, made an impression not easily forgotten. In the rough and tumble of debate he was not at his best. Flippancy or stupidity on the part of an opponent puzzled him; he did not know what to do with such things. Indeed, for a born conversationalist, he was as a debater somewhat disappointing, though there were occasions when he would with a lightning thrust pin his adversary to the wall. It was when delivering the calm and measured statement of a case carefully prepared, or when explaining a difficult point in Canon Law, or when bringing Church history and tradition to bear upon the matter under discussion, that he commanded the respectful and grateful attention of Synod. He was then on his own ground, and

his wide knowledge of his subject was recognised as an asset which was invaluable to the diocese of which he was so distinguished a member.

In the Provincial Synod his particular gifts as a Canonist found still more ample scope. In a large body such as this, composed of the Bishops of the whole Province, representative priests and laymen, there are always to be found men ready to adopt *ad hoc* measures with little or no thought to the relation of such measures to constitutional principles or Canon Law. So long as such proposals seem likely to meet the immediate need, or to promise a "practical and business-like" solution of the matter in hand, they do not consider the wisdom of testing them by reference to either general principles or even to actual canons. In fact, there is in some cases an open contempt for any such considerations and an avowed desire for freedom to act independently of so-called "ecclesiastical legalism". With a revolt against a hide-bound legalism it is easy to sympathise, but it should be equally easy to recognise the dangers attending such a proceeding. To make laws and regulations for an entirely new corporation, society or institution, is a comparatively simple matter. But to make new laws and regulations, or to amend or repeal old ones, in such an historic organisation as the Church, with nineteen centuries of Tradition or Common Law (*mos*) behind it, and with masses of Canon or Statute Law (*Lex*) to its credit, requires wide and accurate knowledge and special powers of interpretation and correlation, if chaos is to be avoided. Rough and ready methods will not do, and however galling it may be to the impulsive legislator who, Gallio-like, cares for none of these things, the restraining influence of "the man who knows" is an invaluable element in a legislative assembly such as the Provincial Synod.

This influence was provided in a conspicuous degree by Archdeacon Wirgman. It is not, of course, suggested that

he was the only Canonist in the Provincial Synod, nor that he stood alone in his desire to see the affairs of the Church in South Africa conducted on sound constitutional lines and in complete harmony with the Canon Law of Catholic Christendom. Some of his doughtiest fights in the Provincial Synod were with men who only differed from him as to the interpretation and application of Canon Law, in reference to the particular point at issue. In the main, however, the position was this: the desire on the one part "to get things done," and on the other to get them done "in conformity with law and order". The Archdeacon was always anxious to safeguard continuity of principle, and to obviate any measure which might in any way or in the slightest degree militate against or depart from those fundamental principles of the Church, upon loyalty to which depends any hope we may have of the ultimate re-union of Christendom.

He was therefore constantly engaged in a struggle between the current which sweeps towards the Scylla of Mortmain (the dead hand of the past), and that which swirls towards the Charybdis of anarchy (Diocesan or Provincial individualism): and whether we agree with him or not on particular counts, we cannot withhold our admiration and gratitude for the wealth of learning and fearless enthusiasm with which he fought for whatever he deemed to be essential to the continuity and integrity of the Church.

In the formation of a new diocese within the Province, the Archdeacon took the keenest interest and gave unsparingly of his time and learning to those engaged in the task of organisation. Whether it was a question of the broad outlines of a diocesan constitution, or of the Statutes of its Cathedral Chapter, or of its Rules of Synod, or of the details of its armorial bearings—he would throw himself into it with his accustomed vigour. In such cases as these he would exhibit that extraordinary power of detachment and concentration which enabled him to turn aside from work of the most

absorbing interest, and devote himself at a moment's notice to some other subject with an intensity of attention which might imply that he had found the one thing in the world that really mattered. The ease and rapidity with which he would thus pass from the consideration of one subject to that of another of an entirely different character bordered on the uncanny. There was no pause for the adjustment of the mental mechanism to the conditions of the new field of observation; not a momentary lull for the acclimatising of the mind to the new atmosphere; the "change over" seemed to be as easy as it was instantaneous, as if performed by means of some kind of psychic switch. It was undoubtedly this power, aided by the extremely methodical way in which he marshalled his energies, that enabled him to get through the many and laborious tasks he set himself.

With Dr. Wirgman's literary work the present writer does not intend to deal. A critical survey of the Archdeacon's published works would, if thoroughly done, be out of all proportion to the modest scope of this slight essay, which is intended to be little more than an expanded note to the Reminiscences. The full list of our author's published works will be found at the end of the volume (p. 339). This, however, gives a very incomplete idea of his forty-five years' work as a writer. There is probably a far greater out-put of literary energy hidden away in the file-rooms of the press, for, indeed, his pen was seldom idle. The subject matter is almost entirely theological, ecclesiastical, historical or liturgical. He was unquestionably a man of intellectual power; a wide and indefatigable reader, with an amazing range of information and a retentive memory. His books are store-houses filled with the fruits of hard study. He knew where to lay his hand, at a moment's notice, on facts, precedents, authorities, catenae and evidences bearing on his subject, and he always presents his readers with a wealth of technical material enough to satisfy the most exacting

seeker after truth. From his premises, and equipped from this armoury, he develops his argument with skill and forcefulness, leading his reader by avenues of great learning, through an atmosphere of strong personal conviction, to the conclusion of the whole matter; a conclusion, it should be added, which is always stated with a clearness of definition, a lucidity of expression and a dogmatic finality which leave no manner of doubt as to its meaning; surely a literary virtue which may cover a multitude of sins, and one which some other noted writers of to-day would do well to emulate. His intrinsic contribution to learning has been gratefully acknowledged by students of the subjects dealt with; his frank and fearless attitude in the field of controversy has been appreciated by all who like to see a question thoroughly threshed out; and, on common ground, Archdeacon Wirgman was a foeman worthy of any man's dialectic steel. It is, however, merely true to say that his reasoning is not always convincing. Many readers must sometimes question the soundness of his argument and demur to his conclusions. And it has to be admitted that his work is sometimes marred by an unnecessary tone of pugnacity and a harsh treatment of the views and susceptibilities of other people. This heavy-handed way of dealing with opponents, coupled with a use of logic not always above criticism, is apt to create in the reader an uneasy suspicion of prejudice and special pleading. This statement does not imply the least question as to the Archdeacon's own sincerity. What he wrote, he believed; and of what he set out to convince his readers, he was himself convinced. But with complete confidence in his own ability and in the soundness of his own case he would allow himself to be swept along by the surge of an impulsive and fighting temperament, in such a way that the reader feels that somehow he is being intellectually "rushed," and with a growing sense of insecurity declines to follow. It is in such instances that the Archdeacon does himself grave injustice, inasmuch

as he impairs his reader's confidence in his judgment generally, even in those far more frequent cases where his language is judicially calm and measured.

Our author's attitude towards "modern thought" is not easily defined. With regard to Biblical criticism he was in some ways strangely conservative. In the triumphs of natural science pure and simple he took the keenest interest. But with any tendency to adjust traditional views of religion to meet the demands of the expanding experience of the race he seemed to find it very difficult to sympathise. He did not object to free speculation on most subjects, and never shrank from discussion on any. But for the "new dogmatics" of certain present-day religionists he had no respect: in the matter of dogmatics he preferred the old. Bred in the atmosphere of early and mid-Victorian theology, he found that of modern criticism, speculation, and "reconstruction" trying to his nerves, though as a scholar he did not resent freedom of thought. For philosophy, as has already been noticed, he did not greatly care; it did not interest him; "it did not lead to anything"; "it bored him". So far as he was concerned philosophy had said its last word in the Scholastic Theology of his beloved Thomas Aquinas.

It is hoped that nothing which has been said so far has created the impression that Archdeacon Wirgman was lacking in breadth of vision. The Archdeacon viewed things largely. It is necessary to emphasise this point, as it is one which many of his critics have failed to observe or declined to recognise. In politics, for instance, he combined an ardent Imperialism with an equally ardent Nationalism, in the best sense of that much maltreated term. While, on the one hand, he was a staunch upholder of South African autonomy, and would brook no "interference" from Downing Street in its internal affairs, he was, on the other hand, a loyal champion of the Empire and a real prophet of the Imperial spirit. The question "Which comes first—South Africa or the Empire?"

was to his mind as absurd as it was mischievous. It suggests a false antithesis, and is as dishonest as the dilemma propounded by the Pharisees of old—"God or Cæsar?" To him the glory of the Empire consists in the welfare of the Dominions; and the welfare of the Dominions lies in the solidarity of the Empire. His attitude with respect to the Church was analogous. He stood for the internal freedom of the Colonial Churches, and yet always strove for the loyal adhesion and cohesion of all these within the broad embrace of the Mother Church.[1] Beyond this, he dreamed of, and in his own way worked for, a return to the idea and practice of the early Church, namely the unity of independent National or Provincial Churches within the one Catholic fold; a unity resting on the "Four Pillars," viz.: the Scriptures, the Creeds, the Sacraments and the Apostolic Ministry; with, as an inevitable corollary, a premier Bishop as the visible living symbol of a united Christendom. This was his vision, as it is and will increasingly become that of many another; and, therefore, it was his aim to teach the Catholic faith of the undivided Church, the faith of the Christendom of the days before Protestantism and before Romanism. This was his ideal, and, to the best of his judgment, for this ideal he worked. He was convinced that in stormy days when much lumber had to be thrown overboard, the English Church had jettisoned much also that was beautiful, edifying, and truly Catholic. Above all, it had gone into bondage under Protestantism and Erastianism, those hateful forces of Tudorism. The interference of the State in the affairs of the Church was as the hand of Uzzah laid on the Ark of the Lord. His constant prayer was that the Church of England might be freed from the evils of the Erastianism involved in her existing relation to the State. His great joy was the freedom attained by the Colonial Churches, a freedom won by the

[1] See "The Blessed Virgin and all the Company of Heaven".

heroic efforts of the pioneers of a former generation. Much of what had in days past been lost, he, like many another, strove to recover: more beautiful music, more truly ecclesiastical architecture and furniture, more symbolism and interpretative art in public worship. He would in every way possible invest the services of the Church with all that is best and beautiful. He would adorn the rites of religion with solemnity, and enhance their significance to the worshipper by means of symbolism. In order to do justice to Archdeacon Wirgman, and indeed to all others whose churchmanship is of this type, it is necessary to understand his point of view. His idea, his scheme of things, was always a large one, and his insistence on detail, his emphasis on the lesser things, was due, not to his taking them for essentials, but to the fact that they were a part of the whole scheme. Because he valued the whole, therefore he valued the parts of the whole. Because he held a great ideal, therefore—as for instance, in the case of public worship—he prized every detail which would help to express its meaning, reveal its spirit and energise its motive in the worshipper.

As a speaker Archdeacon Wirgman rose to his full height when dealing with events of public importance, such as a political crisis or a national calamity. His sermons on civic life and responsibilities, on such occasions as Mayoral Sunday, were always impressive and forceful; and Empire Day celebrations found him the unfailing orator who year after year addressed the younger generation around the Queen's Statue, with a delightful vigour and simplicity excellently suited to his hearers. But never were his utterances more valuable to the public than during the dark days of war. With a wonderful grasp of his subject, a keen foresight, a fervid patriotism and an indomitable faith, he would inspire the troubled spirits of a great audience. Stating the position in his own apt phrases and masterly style, he commanded the closest attention, and left those who heard him

filled with a grateful sense of enlightenment and renewed strength.

An outstanding instance of his political and historic instinct is worthy of record. Eighteen months before the Armistice he mystified his congregation by the utterance—"I fear Peace more than War!" His prophetic sense visualised that which his hearers failed to grasp. Subsequent events—grim and logical in sequence—explain the preacher's cryptic sentence.

In bringing this biographical Note to a close, the writer, while only too well aware of his failure to do full justice to his subject, sincerely trusts that at least he has done it no grave injustice. His aim has been to attempt nothing more than a mere sketch, showing the salient lines of a personality at once arresting and many-sided. He has done so with a freedom which, it is hoped, has not been exercised at the cost of either truth or charity. The subject is one which should be undertaken by a literary artist of proved ability. He would find it a veritable mine of psychological interest. For the present this slight sketch must serve, till some one with a keener eye and firmer hand is moved to paint the fuller portrait.

Take him for all in all, Archdeacon Wirgman was a man who had no duplicate. He was himself. He knew no pose; he was too utterly sure of himself to imagine for a moment that any pose could be an improvement on his natural outlook. His particular niche will never be filled exactly as he filled it. He went into battle with the light-heartedness of a born fighter; but his kindliness was proverbial. He was especially the friend of young men, many of whom he influenced and aided to seek and to receive Holy Orders. He had the heart of a boy, even in those later years when time had begun to weaken his sinews and stiffen the joints of his armour. His work was incessant and it was his joy. His achievements were considerable, and in so far as he made

mistakes, it was because his great abilities were too much subjected to the emotional urge of a temperament which itself needed control. Wherein he succeeded, he has left us a great example of unflagging zeal, devotion to the duties of his calling, strenuous energy, high courage and a humble faith.

His body lies in the resting place he would have chosen—before the Altar he so greatly loved, beneath the aisle his feet have so often trod, within the temple he laboured so earnestly to raise for the worship of the Most High.

*Grant him, O Lord, eternal rest,*
*and may light perpetual shine upon him.*

H. L. G. E.

Grave of the Archdeacon

## PUBLICATIONS.

1. "The Prayer Book, with Historical Notes and Scripture Proofs." 1873; 3rd Edition, 1883.
2. "Thoughts on Harmony between the Lord's Prayer and the Beatitudes." 1877.
3. "Catechism on Confirmation." 1881.
4. "The English Reformation and Book of Common Prayer." 1882.
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6. "A Short History of the Church and Parish of S. Mary." 1892.
7. "The Church and the Civil Power." 1893.
8. "The Spirit of Liberty and other Sermons." 1893.
9. "The English Church and People in South Africa." 1895.
10. "Doctrine of Confirmation in relation to Holy Baptism." 1897.
11. "The Constitutional Authority of Bishops." 1899.
12. "The Blessed Virgin and all the Company of Heaven." 1905.
13. "The Life of Dean Green." 1909.
14. "The History of Protestantism." 1911.
15. "A Catechism of Christian Science." 1917.

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